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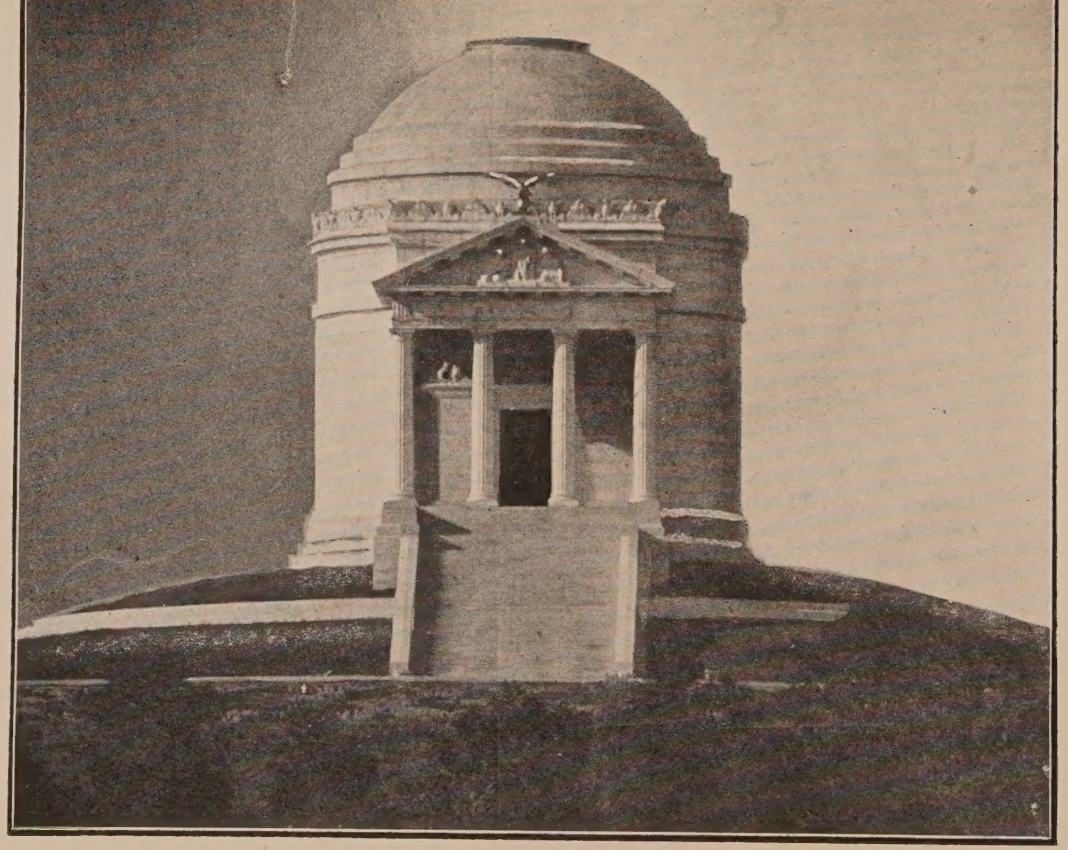

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these contributions to State History may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care; for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the State Historical Library. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the coöperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such coöperation and mutual undertaking that this society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In consideration it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

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Johnson, (Judge) H. W ....Ottawa, Ill.
Johnson, Stewart .....Winnetka, Ill.
Jones, (Miss) Emma F.....
.....1131 S. 6th st., Springfield, Ill.
Jones, (Miss) Lottie E.....
.....112 W. North st., Danville, Ill.
Kane, (Judge) Charles P.....
.....1001 S. 2nd st., Springfield, Ill.
Kauffman, Horace G.....Oregon, Ill.
Keen, John, Jr.....Fairfield, Ill.
Kelly, George T.....
.....1211 Michigan av., Evanston, Ill.
Kemp, E. F..184 LaSalle st., Chicago, Ill.
*Kepley, Henry B.....Effingham, Ill.
*Kerrick, (Hon.) L. H..Bloomington, Ill.
Kimball, (Rev.) Clarence O.....
..... La Junta, Colo.
Kimzey, (Prof.) Walter R..DuQuoin, Ill.
Kincaid, Lee .....Athens, Ill.
Kirby, (Hon.) Edward P.....
..... Jacksonville, Ill.
Kirkman, M. M .....Evanston, Ill.
Kniskern, W. B.....
.....4849 Greenwood av., Chicago, Ill.
Kiselbach, Otto.....Mendota, Ill.
Koons, G. J.....Murphysboro, Ill.
Lambert, (Mrs.) Belle Short (Mrs. E. C.) ..... Jacksonville, Ill.
Lampert, (Mrs.) Clara Lampert.....
.....Belvidere, Ill.
Latham, (Miss) May .....Lincoln, Ill.
Laube, Herbert D.....Polo, Ill.
Law Register Pub. Co., The Law Register.....303 E. Erie st., Chicago, Ill.
Lear, (Mrs.) Mary S.....
.....Brighton Northumberland Co.,
.....Ontario, Can.
Lear, Walter Edwin, Ph. D., LL. D., (Chancellor Anglo-American University) .....Brighton, Ontario, Can.
Leffingwell, (Rev.) Charles W.....
.....Knoxville, Ill.
Lemmers, C. A., Editor "The Woodstock Republican".....Woodstock, Ill.
Lewis, (Hon.) Ira W.....Dixon, Ill.
Lewis, J. B., Editor "The Marion County Democrat".. .....Salem, Ill.
Lewis, (Mrs.) Melissa S.....
.....503 S. 7th st., Springfield, Ill.
Little, John S.....Rushville, Ill.
Lilly, (Mrs.) John P., editor "The Saturday Herald.....Sullivan, Ill.
Lodge, William F.....Monticello, Ill.
Long, G. Frank .....
.....524 W. Vine st., Springfield, Ill.
Longworth, Abel.....Clay City, Ill.
Lord, D. M .....
.....5450 Cornell av., Chicago, Ill.
Lord, (Mrs.) F. W.....Plano, Ill.
Lowe, Leo H., editor "Kewanee Weekly Star Courier" .....Kewanee, Ill.
Lowry, (Hon.) Thomas .....
.....Minneapolis, Minn.
Lumaghi, Joseph .....
.....411 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
Lyman, Edson W .....
....405 N. Oak Park av., Oak Park, Ill.
McAdams, William, Sr..... .....
.....R. R. No. 13, Kansas, Ill.
McCagg, E. B...67 Cass st., Chicago, Ill.
McCalmont, Samuel M.....Morrison, Ill
McClelland, Thomas .....
.....161 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
McComb, James J.....
.....460 N. Hoyne av., Chicago, Ill.
McConnel, G. M.....Winnetka, Ill.

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society—Continued.

McCormick, (Prof.) Henry..State Normal University .....Normal, Ill.
*McCulloch, (Judge) David...Peoria, Ill.
McDonald, L., editor "Phoenix Advertiser" .....Lockport, Ill.
McDowell, S. K.....LeRoy, Ill.
McGlynn, P. S., editor "The Moline Review-Dispatch".....Moline, Ill.
Sentinel-Democrat.....Alton, Ill.
McInerney, J. J., editor "The Alton
McLean County Historical Society....
.....Bloomington, Ill.
McManis, C. J.....Princeton, Ill.
McNeely, T. W.....Petersburg, Ill.
McPike, H. G.....Alton, Ill.
Mann, Ralph Curtis .....Philo, Ill.
Manny, (Hon.) Walter I.....
.....Mt. Sterling, Ill.
Marmon, Mrs.) W. W..Bloomington, Ill.
Marney, John D.....Springfield, Ill.
Marshall (Judge) A. O.....Joliet, Ill.
Matheny, James H.....
.....807 S. 7th st., Springfield, Ill.
Matthews, (Hon.) A. C.....Pittsfield, Ill.
Matthews, Mrs.) E. A....Carlinville, Ill.
Maxey, B. M., editor "Flora Journal"..
.....Flora, Ill.
Mead, Homer, M. D.....Camden, Ill.
Mead, Mary Ward, M. D....Camden, Ill.
Meese, (Hon.) William A.....Moline, Ill.
Merritt, (Hon.) E. L....Springfield, Ill.
Miller, Bertha R. (Mrs. I. G.).....
..... 811 Park av,, Springfield, Ill.
Miller, (Mrs.) Flo. J....Wilmington, Ill.
Miller, John E.....East St. Louis, Ill.
Miller, (Mrs.) Mary P.....
.....1405 N. 4th st., Springfield, Ill
Milligan, (Dr.) Josephine .....
....Jacksonville, Ill.
Mills, Albert T.....
.....1299 W. Macon st., Decatur, Ill.
Mills, Richard W.....
..1260 W. College av., Jacksonville, Ill.
Miner, (Dr.) James .....Winchester, Ill.
Miner, Lewis H.....
.....1709 S. 6th st., Springfield, Ill.
Miner, (Mrs.) Lewis H. .....
.....1709 S. 6th st., Springfield, Ill.
Mitchell, H. B.....
.....112 S. Spring av., LaGrange, Ill.
Montooth, (Mrs.) C. S.....DuQuoin, Ill.
Moore, Clara (Mrs. Ensley).....
....Jacksonville, Ill.
Moore, (Hon.) Ensley..Jacksonville, Ill.
Moore, (Col.) Risdon M.....
.....San Antonio, Texas
Morris, Henry C .....
.....4442 Grand boul., Chicago, Ill.
*Moses, Adolph,"The Temple," Chicago, Ill.
Moss, John R .....Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Mt. Vernon News Co., Pub.....
.....Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Munsell, W. W .....
.....1106 Monadnock bldg Chicago, Ill.
Munson, William A.....
.....309 N. Harvey av. Oak Park, Ill.
Myers, (Hon.) Colostin D.....
.....Bloomington, Ill.
Nelson, William E.....
.....804 W. Williams st., Decatur, Ill.
Nelson, William T.....
.....142 W. Garfield boul., Chicago, Ill.
Newsan, Richard..703, 5th av., Peoria, Ill
Nixon, U. S.....Alton, Ill.
Norton, (Hon.) W. T.....Alton, Ill.
O'Connell, (Hon.) John T.....
.....966 Flournoy st., Chicago, Ill.
Odenweller, A. L.....Frederick, Ill.
Orendorff, (Hon.) Alfred .....
.....725 S. 2nd st., Springfield, Ill.
Orendorff, (Hon.) John B.....
....Bloomington, Ill.
Orendorff, Julia W. (Mrs. Alfred).....
.....725 S. 2nd st., Springfield, Ill.
Osborne, (Miss) Georgia L.....
....Jacksonville, Ill.
Ott, Edwin .....
.....219 N. Euclid av., Oak Park, Ill.
Paddock, Gaius .....
.....R. F. D. No. 1, Moro, Ill.
Page, (Prof.) E. C.....
Northern Illinois Normal School....
....DeKalb, Ill.
*Palmer, Ellen R. (Mrs. John Mayo)...
.....Chicago, Ill.
Palmer, (Dr.) George Thomas .....
....Springfield, Ill.
Palmer, G. M .....
..603 E. Stoughton st., Champaign, Ill.
*Palmer, (Hon.) John Mayo..Chicago, Ill.
Parker, C. M.....Taylorville, Ill.
Parkinson, D. B.....Carbondale, Ill.
Patton, James W .....
.....937 S. 4th st., Springfield, Ill.
Patton, (Mrs.) James W.....
.....937 S. 4th st., Springfield, Ill.
Paullin, George W .....
.....1837 Wesley av., Evanston, Ill.
Payne, William T.....
.....119-121 LaSalle st., Chicago, Ill.
Pearce, J. R.....Quincy, Ill.
Pearson, (Hon.) J. M.....Godfrey, Ill.
Peoria County Historical Society .....
.....Peoria, Ill.
Perkins, F. E.....Sandwich, Ill.
Perrin, (Hon.) J. Nick....Belleville, Ill.
Pettit, Guy V., editor "Reynolds Press"
.....Reynolds, Ill.
Phillips, Edward O.....St. Louis, Mo.
Phillips, Winfield S.....Ridgeway, Ill.
*Pierce, Frederick Clifton, Vice President and Sec. Sherman Historical Association ....Chicago, Ill.
Pitner, (Dr.) T. J.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Polo Historical Society .....Polo, Ill.
Porter, (Capt.) Thomas J.....
.....Lock box 44, Chicago, Ill.
Post, (Judge) Philip S....Galesburg, Ill.
Postle, (Dr.) J. M.....DeKalb, Ill.
Prince, Ezra M.....Bloomington, Ill.
Putnam, (Prof.) J. W., University of Missouri ..... Columbia, Mo.
Pyle, (Prof.) J. Oscar.....
..... Ewing College, Ewing, Ill.
Quayle, Robert .....
.....233 N. Harvey av., Oak Park, Ill.
Quincy Germania Printing & Pub. Co. "The Quincy Germania"...Quincy, Ill.
Quincy Historical Society ....Quincy ,Ill.
Rahmeyer, Mrs. B. F. (Louise Hood Rahmeyer) .....
No. 150 Pontenciana Intramuros,
.....Manila, Philippine Islands
Rammelkamp, (Prof.) C. H., President Illinois College .....Jacksonville, Ill.
Rapp, J. M .....Fairfield, Ill.
*Raymond, James H .....
Suite 1513-15 Monadnock bldg.,
..... Chicago, Ill.
Redfield, J. B .....
....621 Washington boul., Chicago, Ill.
Reeves, (Mrs.) Kate K...Springfield, Ill.
Reeves, (Judge) W. W.....Tusco'a, Ill.
Reul, J. G .....Mendota, Ill.
Richards, R. C.....Geneva, Ill.

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society—Continued.

Rice, George S .....574 Ingleside Park, Evanston, Ill.
Richardson, D. H.....120 W. 2nd st., Belvidere, Ill.
Ridgely, (Mrs.) Charles .....631 S. 4th st., Springfield, Ill.
Roberts, Prof. L., Western State Normal School .....Macomb, Ill.
Roberts, Peyton .....Monmouth, Ill.
Robinson, (Miss) Margaret H.....520 S. 8th st., Springfield, Ill.
Rogers, (Rev.) James E., Ph. D., LL. D. ...7th & Bergen sts, Springfield, Ill.
Roosa, (Mrs.) S. V.....Springfield, Ill.
Rose, (Hon.) James A.....530 S. 5th st., Springfield, Ill.
Rose, (Mrs.) James A .....530 S. 5th st., Springfield, Ill.
Rounds, H. E., editor "The North Shore News" .....Rogers Park, Ill.
Routson, Clarence M....Farmington, Ill.
Rowland, J. R.....Avon, Ill.
Russel, Andrew.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Rutledge, J. E .....Rutledge Coal Co., St. Louis, Mo.
Sanders, (Col.) George A .....508 S. 7th st., Springfield, Ill.
Sattley, (Miss) Olive .....S. 2nd st., Springfield, Ill.
Sayler, H. L. .....138 Jackson boul., Chicago, Ill.
Scherer, Andrew .....383 N. State st., Chicago, Ill.
Schmict, (Dr.) Otto L.....3328 Michigan av., Chicago, Ill.
*Schneck, Jacob, M. D...Mt. Carmel, Ill.
Schoolcraft, (Prof.) H. L....Urbana, Ill.
Schroter, Fred J .....5244 Greenwood av., Chicago, Ill.
Scott, Edgar S .....1707 S. 6th st., Springfield, Ill.
Scott, (Mrs.) Julia G. (Mrs. M. T.)... ..... Bloomington, Ill.
Scoville, C. B .....Colorado Court, Pasadena, Calif.
Seil, W. J., editor "Grayville Mercury" ....Grayville, Ill.
Sharpe, C. A .....208 N. Euclid av., Oak Park, Ill.
Sheets, J. M .....Oblong, Ill.
Sheppard, (Prof.) R. D .....Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Sibley, (Dr.) Frank C.....Carmi, Ill.
Sibley, H. F .....Fairfield, Ill.
Sibley, (Dr.) W. C.....Fairfield, Ill.
Silliman, E. C .....Chenoa, Ill.
Silver (Miss) Anna Barnett .....Rural Route 11, Urbana, Ill.
Simpson, F. H .....Flora, Ill.
Sloo, Thomas .....1331 Third st., New Orleans, La.
Smith, C. B .....Wheaton, Ill.
Smith, (Col.) D. C .....Normal, Ill.
Smith, (Prof.) George W., Southern Illinois Normal University..Carbondale, Ill.
Smith, Randolph .....600 Mechanics Nat. Bank. St. Louis, Mo.
Smith, Thomas H .....4407 Lake av., Chicago, Ill.
Snively, (Hon.) E. A .....1230 S. 6th st., Springfield, Ill.
Snively, (Mrs.) E. A.....1230 S. 6th st., Springfield, Ill.
Snyder, (Dr.) J. F.....Virginia, Ill.
*Souther, George H.....Springfield, Ill.
Sparks, (Prof.) Edwin Erle..University of Chicago., 5731 Monroe av., ...Chicago, Ill.
Sparks, H. B .....Alton, Ill.
Spear, S. L .....Springfield, Ill.
Spence, M. H., editor "The Elmwood Gazette" .....Elmwood, Ill.
Stearns, Arthur K .....112-114 Genesee st., Waukegan, Ill.
Steenburg, Alice W. (Mrs. Alfred C.) ..... Farmington, Ill.
Stennet, (Dr.) W. H.....303 Linden av., Oak Park, Ill.
Stericker, Mrs. Louise B. (Mrs. Geo. F.) .....624 S. 2nd st., Springfield, Ill.
Stevens, F. E. .....1205 Chamber of Commerce buldg., ...Chicago, Ill.
Stevens, William W .....Joliet, Ill.
Steward, (Miss) Bertha.....Steward, Ill.
Steward, John F .....1889 Sheridan Rd., Chicago, Ill.
Steward, Julian R .....Plano, Ill.
Stewart, Charles S.....Desplaines, Ill.
Stice, Henry .....Normal ,Ill.
Stillwell, (Hon.) L .....Erie, Kas.
Strawn, (Judge) Halbert L....Albion, Ill.
Strawn, John H .....Waynesburg, Pa.
Stringer, (Hon.) Lawrence B..Lincoln, Ill.
Stubblefield, (Hon.) George W..... ..... Bloomington ,Ill.
*Stuve, (Dr.) Bernard ..Springfield, Ill.
Swift, E. C .....Ottawa, Ill.
Tauchan, (Mrs.) Marie .....1012 W. Argyle, Irving Pk., Chicago, Ill.
Taylor, Charles R.....815 S. 5th st., Springfield, Ill.
Taylor, (Mrs.) Harriet Rumsey .....815 S. 5th st., Springfield, Ill.
Thacher, (Mrs.) Charles H .....928 S. 2nd st., Springfield, Ill.
Thayer, (Miss) Maude....Springfield, Ill.
Thompson, Henry Avery .....Galena, Ill.
Throgmorton, (Rev.) W. P...Marion, Ill.
Tietsort, H. W., editor "The Medora Messenger" ..... Medora, Ill.
Todd, H. C .....620 N. Euclid av.. Oak Park, Ill.
Tomlin, (Mrs.) Eliza I. H .....904 S. Main st., Jacksonville, Ill.
Tompkins, W. H., editor "The Dundee Hawkeye" ..... Dundee, Ill.
Towle, H. S .....333 Oak Park av., Oak Park, Ill.
Towne, (Mrs.) Aurelia .....227 N. Hoesman st., Rockford, Ill.
Tregallis, (Miss) Ida.....Astoria, Ill.
Trimble, (Miss) Clara E .....No. 20 W. 113th Pl., Chicago, Ill.
Tuthill, (Judge) Richard S.....Fort Dearborn bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Tuttle, W. R .....E. St. Louis, Ill.
Urech & Son, editors "The Mendon Dispatch" ..... Mendon, Ill.
Utterback, J. C., editor "The Republican" ..... Salem, Ill.
Vandervort, (Dr.) F. C..Bloomington, Ill.
Vandeveer, (Hon.) William T..... ..... Taylorville, Ill.
*Vocke, (Hon.) William, President German American Historical Society ....103-109 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Waite, (Dr.) H. N .....Johnson, Vt.
Walker, (Rev.) Edwin S.....1125 S. 5th st., Springfield, Ill.

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society—Concluded.

Walker, (Mrs.) Edwin S .....
.....1125 S. 5th st., Springfield, Ill.
*Wallace, Joseph .....Springfield, Ill.
Waterman, (Judge) A. N.....
.....40 Groveland Park, Chicago, Ill.
Watson, (Mrs.) David A.....
....205 N. Walnut st., Springfield, Ill.
Way, Virgil G .....Proctor, Ill.
Weber, (Mrs.) Jessie Palmer .....
.... Springfield, Ill.
Weis, Edward W., M. D.....Ottawa, Ill.
Wells, Frederick Latimer ...Wheaton, Ill.
Wertz, (Miss) Adda P..Carbondale, Ill.
West, Simeon H.....LeRoy, Ill.
Wheeler, C. Gilbert .....
.....14 State st., Chicago, Ill.
Wheeler, (Mrs.) Katherine Goss .....
.... Springfield, Ill.
*Wheeler, (Judge) Samuel P.....
.... Springfield, Ill.
*Wightman, G. F.....Lacon, Ill.
Wilderman, (Miss) Augusta A.....
..... Belleville, Ill.
Wiles, (Mrs.) Alice Bradford (Mrs. R. H.)...5711 Woodlawn av., Chicago, Ill.
Williamson, Oliver, care "The Interior"
....Chicago, Ill.
Willcox, E. S.....Peoria, Ill.
Williams, W. W .....Litchfield, Ills.
Withers, Henry C.....Carrollton, Ill.
*Wohlgemuth, Henry, M. D .....
.... Springfield, Ill.
Woltersdorf, Louis .....
.....360 Ashland boul., Chicago, Ill.
Woodworth, A. P.....Robinson, Ill.
Woolard, F. M .....
..530 Wauwatosa av., Wauwatosa, Wis.
Woolard, William F... .....
U. S. Patent Office, Washington D. C.
Worthington, (Hon.) Thomas .....
.... Jacksonville, Ill.
Worthington, (Mrs.) Thomas .....
.... Jacksonville, Ill.
Wright, Joseph .....
.....811 Park av., Springfield, Ill.
Wyckoff, (Dr.) Charles T. (Bradley Polytechnic Institute).....Peoria, Ill.
Young, J. H .....Oakwood, Ill.
Zeller, (Rev.) J. C .....
..507 E. Chestnut st., Bloomington, Ill.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Article 1—Name and Objects.

Section 1. The name of this society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

§ 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its people.

Article II—Officers of the Society—Their Election and Duties.

Section 1. The management of the affairs of this society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which board the president of the society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

§ 2. There shall be a president and as many vice-presidents, not less than three, as the society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

§ 3. The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

§ 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1). To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants, together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2). To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3). To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4). To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5). To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, printings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property real or personal in aid of the above objects.

(6). They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1902, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations

therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this constitution, for the management of the affairs of the society; they shall fix the time and places for their meetings, keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the society at its annual meetings.

§ 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

§ 6. The president shall preside at all meetings of the society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the vice-presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the society may choose a president *pro-tempore*.

§ 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such officers, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the society or the board of directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said board shall submit said report to the society at its annual meeting.

Article III—Membership.

Section 1. The membership of this society shall consist of five classes to-wit: Active, life, affiliated, corresponding and honorary.

§ 2. Any person may become an active member of this society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors.

§3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of twenty-five dollars be admitted as a "life member" with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

§4. County and other historical societies and other societies engaged in historical or archeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the board of directors be admitted as affiliated members of this society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

§ 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this society, may, upon recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

§ 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the society upon the recommendation of the board of directors, upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history .

§ 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privileges of attending and participating in the meetings of the society.

Article IV—Meetings and Quorum.

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of January in each year as may be designated by the board of directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

§ 2. Special meetings of the society may be called by the board of directors. Special meetings of the board of directors may be called by the president or any two members of the board.

§ 3. At any meeting of the society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

Article V—Amendments.

Section 1. The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided*, that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the board of directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, be sent by the secretary to each member of the society.

ERRATA.

On page 72, for Rev. John I. Bergen, read *Rev. John G. Bergen.*

On page 152, for Dr. John Going, read *Dr. Jonathan Going.*

On page 152, for Dr. Stoughton, read *Dr. Staughton.*

On page 192, for Port Ann, read *Fort Ann.*

On page 229, for Bordon of Virginia, read *Bouldin of Virginia.*

On page 269, foot note, for Fanquier County Virginia, read *Fauquier County Virginia.*

On page 303, for Col. E. D. Bake, read *Col. E. D. Baker.*

On page 318, for St. Marys, Hancock Co., Ill., read *St. Mary.*

For page 525 read page 325.

PART I.

Record of Official Proceedings.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SUPREME COURT ROOM, STATE CAPITOL,
SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Jan. 24-25, 1907.

BUSINESS MEETING, THURSDAY, JAN. 24, 1907, 10:00 O'CLOCK, A. M.

Th eighth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Supreme Court Room of the State Capitol, Jan. 24-25, 1907.

The session opened on Thursday morning at 10:00 o'clock, with the business meeting.

President Alfred Orendorff presided.

The society proceeded with the regular order of business.

The report of the secretary was read and approved. The report of the treasurer was read and approved.

The president called for the reports of committees. Prof. E. B. Greene, chairman of the Publication committee, made a verbal report for that committee. Mr. C. W. Alvord made some remarks in regard to the purposes and scope of the publications of the Illinois State Historical Library, explaining the difference between the annual volume of the transactions of the Historical Society and the special publications of the library.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber reported for the Program committee, and said that, as usual, she would refer the members of the society to the program for this annual meeting as the result of the labors of that committee. The Program committee, through Mrs. Weber, its chairman, urgently requested the members of the society to interest themselves in securing addresses of historic value and interest for the annual meetings, and said that the committee will gladly welcome any suggestions from the members of the society.

Capt. J. H. Burnham, chairman, reported for the committee on Local Historical Societies.

The report of the committee on the Semi-Centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates was, in the absence of Chairman E. E. Sparks, read by H. W. Clendenin, a member of the committee. This report was referred to the incoming board of directors of the society.

The report of the committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications was called for and the report was read by Miss Georgia L. Osborne, chairman of the committee.

The report of the committee on Legislation was called for, and Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, chairman, made some remarks in regard to the legislation relating to historical subjects, which is now pending before the General Assembly. Dr. Chamberlin explained the purposes of some of the bills and asked that the members of the society take an interest in them, and give the matter of such legislation, careful consideration, He also stated that the committee on Legislation, to be appointed at this session of the society, would take up the further work of this committee.

The report of the committee on Membership was called for and a letter was read from Charles L. Capen, chairman, who was unable to be present.

These various reports were accepted and approved.

The election of officers for the ensuing year was then called for. Mr. E. A. Snively moved that the president appoint a nominating committee. This motion was seconded and carried. The president appointed as the nominating committee:

Messrs. E. A. Snively, James H. Matheny, George E. Dawson, J. Nick Perrin, Smith D. Atkins.

The committee retired for conference.

The president called for general and miscellaneous business. Miss Maude Thayer, a delegate from the Illinois State Library Association to the Society, reported that the library association was very anxious to confer with the Historical Society on the subject of the advancement of the study and collection of local historical material in the various towns throughout the State. Mr. E. S. Willcox moved that a special committee be appointed to confer with the State Library Association at its meeting to be held in Bloomington on February 22nd. This motion was seconded and carried. The president appointed the committee, of which Miss Maude Thayer was chairman, the other members, being E. S. Willcox, E. M. Prince, Henry McCormick, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber. Delegates from local historical societies were asked to report.

The following societies were represented:

Peoria County Historical Society.
Morgan County Historical Society.
Macoupin County Historical Society.
McLean County Historical Society.
Woodford County Historical Society.
Madison County Historical Society.

An address was read by Mr. E. S. Willcox of Peoria. At the conclusion of Mr. Willcox's address, it was moved that a special committee be apopinted to report on the results of this conference. The president appointed as this committee: Mr. Frank J. Heinl, of Jacksonville, chairman, and Messrs. John I. Rinaker, of Carlinville, L. J. Freese, of Eureka, J. H. Burnham, of Bloomington, T. J. Pittner, of Jacksonville.

A motion was made by Mr. E. S. Willcox that the president appoint a special committee to determine the correct pronunciation of the word "Illinois." Mr. Willcox made as a part of his motion that the secretary of the society be made chairman of this committee. The president

appointed a committee of the following members: Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, chairman; Jesse A. Baldwin, Chicago; Francis G. Blair, Springfield; E. J. James, Urbana; Mrs. Margaret M. Bangs, Pontiac; Alfred Orendorff, ex-officio.

Mr. Snively, from the Nominating committee, stated that the committee was ready to make a report, and upon being directed to report, the following named persons were recommended to the society as its officers for the year, January 1907-08.

President, Gen. Alfred Orendorff, Springfield.
First Vice President, Hon. Clark E. Carr, Galesburg.
Second Vice President, Gen. Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.
Third Vice President, Hon. William Vocke, Chicago.

Board of Directors, Edmund Janes James, Ph. D., LL. D., president of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Hon. George N. Black, Springfield; J. H. Burnham, Bloomington; M. H. Chamberlin, LL. D., president of McKendree College, Lebanon; Hon. L. Y. Sherman, Macomb; Hon. David McCulloch, Peoria; Evarts B. Greene, Ph. D., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield; Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D., University of Chicago, Chicago; Hon. William H. Collins, Quincy; Hon. J. O. Cunningham, Urbana; Hon. Andrew Russell, Jacksonville; Prof. Geo. W. Smith, Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale; Rev. C. J. Eschmann, Prairie du Rocher; J. W. Clinton, Polo.

The report of this committee was received and Mr. Snively moved that the secretary be directed to cast the ballot for the officers as recommended by the Nominating committee. This motion was seconded by Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, and was carried. The secretary accordingly cast the ballot and the persons recommended by the Nominating committee were duly declared elected officers of the society for the ensuing year.

The secretary reported that the society had lost by death during the past year, five of its honored members. Brief biographical notices of each of these members was read by the secretary and on a motion, which was adopted by a rising vote, the secretary was directed to spread upon the records of the society these resolutions. The members deceased are: J. M. Bush, Pittsfield; James H. Raymond, Chicago; Dr. Jacob Schneck, Mt. Carmel; Judge Samuel P. Wheeler, Springfield; and Major Geo. W. Wightman, Lacon.

The hour being late, the business meeting of the society adjourned with the understanding that at any convenient time during the annual session, matters of business might be presented.

On Friday morning, at 9:00 o'clock, a symposium on the teaching of State history, was called to order with President Orendorff in the chair.

In the absence of Prof. J. A. James, of Evanston, who had expected to be in charge of the discussion, Prof. Geo. W. Smith, of Carbondale, acted as leader, and addressed the society at some length on the subject of the real meaning of history. This was followed by a discussion of the subject in which Mr. Henry McCormick, State Superintendent Francis G. Blair, Mr. J. Nick Perrin, Prof. W. H. Brydges and Prof. J. H. Collins, each took part.

The secretary reported that the Board of Directors recommended the following persons for honorary membership in the society:

Paul Selby, Chicago; Hon. Chas. S. Deneen, Springfield; Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, Iowa; Hon. J. P. Dunn, Indiana.

and on motion, the recommendation of the board of directors was adopted, and the above named persons were elected honorary members of the society.

At the close of the Friday evening session, it was moved that the thanks of the society be extended to Hon. James A. Rose, Secretary of State; to the officials of the Supreme Court; to Capt. R. J. Beck, Superintendent of the Capitol Building; to Miss Mary Billsbury, Chicago; to Mrs. Albert Myers, of Springfield; and to the other ladies and gentlemen, musicians of Springfield; and to the ladies of the local committee on arrangements, for their kind and untiring efforts to add to the pleasure and comfort of the State Historical Society at its annual meeting; and also to the press of Springfield for the full and satisfactory reports of the sessions of this annual meeting. This motion was unanimously adopted.

The literary sessions were carried out in accordance with the printed program, and the eighth annual session of the society closed with a reception in the Illinois State Library, at which the officers and members of the society received their friends.

DIRECTORS' MEETINGS.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the librarian's room of the State Historical Library, Thursday morning, at 9:00 o'clock, January 24th, 1907.

There were present:

President Alfred Orendorff, who presided; E. B. Greene, J. W. Clinton, J. H. Burnham, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

The secretary's report was read and approved. The treasurer's report was read and approved.

Capt. J. H. Burnham moved that a committee be appointed to revise the mailing list for the distribution of the publications of the society. He made as a part of his motion, that the secretary be made chairman of the committee. This motion was carried, and the president was requested to appoint the committee. The secretary asked for instructions as to sending the publications to members of the society whose dues are unpaid. The president was requested to appoint a temporary committee for the purpose of considering this matter. It was also moved that the secretary be made chairman of this committee,

There was a general discussion of the various bills in the interest of historical research now pending before the General Assembly of the State. It was the sense of the board that these various bills and the interests which they represent receive careful consideration and the committee on legislation be asked to aid in the passage of such of them as are deemed favorable to the interests of the society.

Capt. J. H. Burnham suggested that the year 1908 would be the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and he moved that the program committee be directed to take this fact into consideration in preparing the program for the annual meeting of the year 1908, and that the Program committee confer with the committee on the celebration of the semi-centennial of the Debates.

Mr. Burnham spoke of the proposed change in the Constitution of the Society in regard to the time for holding the annual meetings. This was discussed at some length and was referred to the Program committee for action.

There being no further business, the Board of Directors adjourned to meet at some time during the sessions of the annual meeting at the call of the president.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, held in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court,

at 11:15 Friday morning, January 25, 1907, there were present: President Alfred Orendorff (who presided), Messrs. E. B. Greene, Geo. W. Smith, J. W. Clinton, J. H. Burnham, and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

On motion of Mr. E. B. Greene, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was elected secretary and treasurer of the society for the year 1907-1908.

On motion of Mr. E. B. Greene, Alfred Orendorff, the president of the society, was elected chairman of the Board of Directors.

The following committees were appointed:

Publication Committee.

E. B. Greene, Urbana, Chairman.

George N. Black, Springfield.
George W. Smith Carbondale.
C. W. Alvord, Urbana.
George W. Dupuy, Chicago.
M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon.
Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
Stephen L. Spear, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

Program Committee.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Chairman.

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.
J. A. James, Evanston.
Charles P. Kane, Springfield.
Logan Hay, Springfield.
C. H. Rammelkamp, Jacksonville.
Mrs. Catherine Goss Wheeler, Springfield.
Paul Selby, Chicago.
Edwin Erle Sparks, Chicago.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

Finance and Auditing Committee.

George N. Black, Springfield, Chairman.

E. J. James, Urbana.
Jessie Palmer Weber.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

Committe on Legislation.

M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon, Chairman.

E. J. James, Urbana.
Henry McCormick, Normal.
Andrew Russell, Jacksonville.
J. McCan Davis, Springfield.
R. V. Carpenter, Belvidere.
George N. Black, Springfield.
E. A. Snively, Springfield.
O. F. Berry, Carthage.
David McCulloch, Peoria.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

Committee on Local Historical Societies.

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Chairman.

David McCulloch, Peoria.
George W. Smith, Carbondale.
Eliot Callender, Peoria.
J. O. Cunningham, Urbana.
Frank J. Heinl, Jacksonville.
J. Seymour Currey, Evanston.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.

Judge J. Otis Humphrey, Springfield, Chairman.

Charles L. Capen, Bloomington.
J. W. Clinton, Polo.
Daniel Berry, M. D., Carmi.
John M. Rapp, Fairfield.
Mrs. Thomas Worthington, Jacksonville.
Miss May Latham, Lincoln.
J. Nick Perrin, Belleville.
Wm. Jayne, M. D., Springfield.
George E. Dawson, Chicago.
E. M. Bowman, Alton.
Dr. A. W. French, Springfield.

Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

COMMITTEE ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858.

Hon. Clark E. Carr, Galesburg, Chairman.

E. C. Swift, Ottawa.
Phillip S. Post, Galesburg.
M. C. Crawford, Jonesboro.
Sumner S. Anderson, Charleston.
E. E. Sparks, Chicago.
Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.
H. W. Clendenin, Springfield.
W. H. Collins, Quincy.
W. T. Norton, Alton.

Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

COMMITTEE ON THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES IN ILLINOIS.

Edwin Erle Sparks, Chicago, Chairman.

Harry Ainsworth, Moline.
Mrs. M. T. Scott, Bloomington.
Reed Green, Cairo.
John E. Miller, East St. Louis.
Col. D. C. Smith, Normal.
J. H. Collins, Springfield.
Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee.
E. S. Willcox, Peoria.

Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

Georgia L. Osborne, Springfield, Chairman.

Mrs. E. G. Crabbe, Springfield.
Mrs. Thomas Worthington, Jacksonville.
Mrs. E. S. Walker, Springfield.
Mrs. John C. Ames, Chicago.

Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

COMMITTEE TO DETERMINE THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE WORD "ILLINOIS."

Jessie Palmer Weber, Chairman.

Jesse A. Baldwin, Chicago.
Francis G. Blair, Springfield.
E. J. James, Urbana-Champaign.
Mrs. Margaret M. Bangs, Pontiac.

Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF MAILING LIST FOR DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Chairman.

James A. Rose, Springfield.
Mrs. I. G. Miller, Springfield.
J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.
W. H. Brydges, Elgin.

Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

Special Committee to Report on Results of Conference of Representatives of Local Historical Societies.

Frank J. Heinl, Jacksonville, Chairman.

John I. Rinaker, Carlinville.
J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.
L. J. Freese, Eureka.
T. J. Pitner, Jacksonville

Special Committee to Confer with Illinois State Library Association on Relations Between Historical Society and Libraries.

Miss Maud Thayer, Springfield, Chairman.

E. S. Willcox, Peoria.
Henry McCormick, Normal.
E. M. Prince, Bloomington.
Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.

On motion, the names of the following persons were recommended to the society, as proper persons upon whom to confer honorary membership in the Historical Society:

Mr. Paul Selby, Hon. Charles S. Deneen, Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, Hon. J. P. Dunn, Indiana.

It was also moved, seconded and carried, that the report of the committee on Genealogy and Genealogical publications made to the society by the chairman of the committee, Miss Osborne, be approved by the board of directors, including recommendations made by the committee; and that the society be asked to ratify these recommendations of the board of directors.

It was also voted that a committee on the revision of the lists for the distribution of the publications of the society be appointed by the chairman. It was also voted that the secretary of the society be the chairman of the committee on distribution of documents just mentioned.

The board of directors of the Illinois State Historical Society recommend to the society that the following named persons be made honorary members of the society:

Paul Selby, who has borne so distinguished a part in the writing of the history of the State, as well as being an active participant in many of the most stirring events of that history.

Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh of the State University of Iowa, who delivered before this society the brilliant annual address of last evening and whose services to the cause of western history are conspicuous.

Hon. Jacob Piatt Dunn of Indiana, who in 1905 gave this society a most able and logical address on Father Pierre Gibault, the patriot priest of the Northwest. Mr. Dunn has also contributed other valuable articles to the cause of western history.

Lastly, the board of directors wish to recommend to the society that honorary membership be conferred upon Hon. Charles S. Deneen. It is not the custom of this society to confer honorary membership upon high officials of the State and nation, during the terms of office of these gentlemen, but your directors wish to express the appreciation of the society of the earnest, thoughtful and helpful address which

Governor Deneen delivered before the society at its annual meeting (last evening) of 1907. Governor Deneen also gave the society last year a very helpful address; and in views of these addresses of encouragement to the society, and on account of his interest in the cause of State History and this association, we recommend that he be made by you an honorary member of this society. Charles S. Deneen is an Illinoisan. His family were pioneers of the State, and he believes in the cause of State history and under all circumstances does all in his power to foster its collection and preservation. Your board of directors therefore recommends that hororary membership in the Illinois State Historical Society be conferred upon the above named gentlemen, Paul Selby, Benj. F. Shambaugh, Jacob Piatt Dunn and Charles S. Deneen.

DIRECTORS' MEETING.

The board of directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the Librarian's room of the State Historical Library, Tuesday morning, June 18, 1907, at 10:30 o'clock.

President Alfred Orendorff presided.

There were present: Messrs. E. B. Greene, J. H. Burnham, J. W. Clinton, M. H. Chamberlin, Andrew Russell, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber and Alfred Orendorff.

Professor Greene moved that the secretary be directed to ask the Adjutant General what plans are being formulated for the publication of the War Record of the State. The secretary was directed to report on this point at the annual meeting of the society. The question of the change in the time of the annual meeting of the society was discussed and it was the sense of the board that the change in time be made, subject to the decision of the society. Professor Greene moved that the secretary send to the members of the society the necessary notice of the proposed change in the constitution for the purpose of changing the time for holding the annual meeting. This motion was seconded by Dr. Chamberlin and was carried.

It was suggested that as the year 1908, is the year of the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, it would be necessary for the society to take some action in regard to its commemoration, and the Program committee and the committee on the celebration of the semi-centennial of the debates, asked for the sentiment of the board as to how much the annual meeting for 1908 should be devoted to this purpose. Mr. J. W. Clinton spoke of a letter he had received from the late Hon. R. R. Hitt, in regard to the Lincoln-Douglas debates and he, (Mr. Clinton), thought it very likely that among Mr. Hitt's papers would be very much material, not only about the debates but in regard to other matters of Illinois history, and by motion offered by Mr. Clinton, the Secretary was directed to write to Mrs. Hitt on the subject.

General Orendorff spoke of the appropriation that had been made to the Historical Society by the last Legislature and in regard to the uses and necessities which this fund would meet. The secretary gave a statement as to the expenses of the society and how they had been met from the annual dues of the members and from the State appropriation. Dr. Chamberlin moved that the society pay its secretary $500.00 a year from the State appropriation. Prof. Greene seconded this motion and it was carried unanimously.

Captain Burnham asked a question as to the cost of illustrations and maps in the annual transactions of the society. He wished to know if the society or any author paid for these. The secretary stated that the society paid for such illustrations and maps. Professor Greene spoke on the desirability of the society publishing additional volumes, that is, other than the transactions, on special subjects and he mentioned the papers of Gustavus Koernor. Professor Greene said that he had had an opportunity of seeing some of these papers, especially Gov. Koernor's autobiography, and he thought it most desirable that the biography in part at least, be published. Captain Burnham moved that if this biography was deemed of sufficient interest, that it be published with an introduction and notes by Professor E. B. Greene.

Dr. Chamberlin spoke of Frederick Hecker and said that it was probable that there is a collection of the Hecker papers in existence. Dr. Chamberlin was requested to look into this matter and report in regard to these papers. This, he agreed to do. Captain Burnham spoke on the desirability of collecting photographs, maps and diagrams of historic places in Illinois and urged that the secretary and all of the members of the society make special efforts toward a great collection of such material. Captain Burnham then spoke of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and Mrs. Weber said that the Library Board had decided upon the publication of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, the editorial work to be done by Prof. E. E. Sparks. Dr. Greene spoke at length on the scope of this book and Dr. Sparks' plans for it.

It was decided, in view of the fact that the Program committee and the committee on the commemoration of the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates would meet in the afternoon, to take a recess until 1:30 o'clock to meet in conference with these committees.

The Board of Director's meeting adjourned.

Adjourned Meeting of the Board of Directors, 1:30 O'clock, June 18, 1907.

There were present at this meeting: President Orendorff, who presided, Messrs. Chamberlin, Greene, Burnham, Russell, Clinton and Mrs. Weber.

By invitation: Col. Clark E. Carr, Mr. H. W. Clendenin and later, Mr. Phillip S. Post.

The conference recommended that the celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas debates be given on the dates of the original celebrations at the same hour, and, as nearly as is practicable, on the same spots, in each of the towns in which the debates occurred. It was also decided that an address be issued to the people of the State of Illinois calling attention to this semi-centennial anniversary and the proposed celebrations of it by the Historical Society. The conference also recommended that the Program committee for the annual meeting, 1908, give as much time as practicable to the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Col.

onel Carr, chairman of the committee on the Lincoln-Douglas debates, spoke at some length on the plans of the committee, and it was the sense of the conference that matters of detail of this celebration be left entirely to this committee.

There being no further business, the Board of Directors' meeting adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Jan. 24, 1907.

To the Illinois State Historical Society:

It is very pleasant to be able to state that within little more than a year, half a dozen apparently vigorous county historical societies have been organized, and that several older ones report a revival of interest. The county societies now organized are Boone, Champaign, DeKalb, Greene, Jersey, Kendall, Knox, LaSalle, Logan, Macoupin, McDonough, McLean, Morgan, Peoria, Pike, Rock Island, St. Clair, Whiteside, Woodford, Johnson, and the Pioneer Association of Will county. The Pioneer Society of Quincy is practically an Adams county society, while the Alton society represents Madison, and the new society at Carbondale will represent much more than Jackson county. We thus have almost a right to count twenty-four county historical societies. Besides these we can report a very thoroughly active society at Evanston, and township societies at Polo, Ogle county; Ogden and Philo, Champaign county, and Leroy, McLean county. The Scientific Club at Elgin and the New England Society at Rockford may perhaps develop into local historical societies. There are several very important societies which cover far more than a limited territory which are not properly local societies, but as their work does not conflict with that of our State society, we will enumerate them and cordially invite them to fraternize as far as they can consistently, with the enterprising galaxy of historical societies now entering upon what promises to be a new era. These are the Chicago Historical Society, the German-American Historical Society of Chicago, the Illinois Society at Springfield and the Colored Historical Society at Springfield.

Reports received from most of the societies in the State indicate a greatly increased interest during the past year. It will be remembered that at our last annual meeting the hope was expressed that some practical recommendations concerning the relation between State and other societies would be received from the American Historical Association which is now giving this problem very serious consideration. The last annual report of this body was issued in October. Our space will not permit of more than a brief quotation or two from this work. In this volume we are informed that quite a number of the most important township societies in Massachusetts have lately formed a Historical League, and also that the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical

Societies was formed two years ago. Out of thirty-six historical societies in that state, twenty-four joined this new organization. Pennsylvania has about twenty-six county historical societies, a larger number than any other state in the Union, and our own State now takes second rank in the number of county societies. The secretary of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies in the volume above referred to, says, "To summarize, it will be the province of the Pennsylvania Federation; first, to organize historical activity in every part of the State, and foster it, and to foster that already organized; second, to act as a federal bibliographer for its component societies; third, at regular intervals or periods to bulletin the publications of its component societies, and to conduct an exchange of said bulletins."

These federations or leagues appear to be between independent societies, not affiliated with state or parent societies, but in Iowa and Wisconsin nearly, if not quite all, local societies are legally affiliated with the State organizations. It is natural for us to look for appropriate hints from Iowa and Wisconsin where local societies are systematically and legally affiliated with the State societies, and it is likely we shall be favored with their experience before our adjournment.

The conference of representatives of local historical societies now in session here is confronted with the problem of a stronger and better affiliation with the Illinois State Historical Society, which shall draw from the parent society all the nourishment it has ability to give; and at the same time to return, if possible, many fold, to the parent, such aid, encouragement and stimulus as these young and enthusiastic organizations may find it in their growing power to bring to the older organization.

Judging from the reports which have reached us from the associated bodies referred to, this problem needs careful study, and your committee believes that any recommendations at this time should be given with such extreme diffidence and hesitation, that the conference will be more likely to bring forth valuable results if left entirely to its own voluntary action.

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858.

JANUARY 14, 1907.

President Alfred Orendorff, Springfield, Illinois:

MY DEAR GEN. ORENDORFF—Owing to a University appointment in Wisconsin, I shall not be able to attend the annual meeting of the Historical Society. In view of the fact that I may be in Europe during a part of the coming year, it seems best to tender my resignation as chairman of the committee on the Lincoln-Douglas Debate Celebration and to remain a member—if you so desire—where I promise all assistance in my power.

These subjects should be considered by the committee in addition to other topics which may come before the meeting:

1. A fund of at least five hundred dollars for printing, promoting and other expenses of the celebrations.
2. A pamphlet on the Debates, etc., to circulate in the schools.
3. Organization, in each place where a tablet has not been erected, looking to a proper marking of the place of the debate.
4. A recommendation to the Historical Library Board to print an annotated edition of the debates for general use during the celebration year.
5. A coöperative inquiry among the various "debate cities" to ascertain what steps as yet have been taken to inaugurate the celebration and to ascertain in what way the general committee can be useful.
6. A publicity sub-committee, whose duty should be to further the enterprise through the State press.
7. A recommendation to the Program Committee for 1908 to devote the program largely to the debates, with an attempt to form a debate historical collection for exhibition during the meeting, the same to be allied to the museum afterward. Probably part of this collection would have to be in the nature of a loan, to be returned after the meeting.

I trust that these topics may be suggestive of others. Greatly regretting my inability to be present and pledging my continued efforts as a member of the committee, but not its chairman, I am, with high regard,

Yours most cordially,

EDWIN E. SPARKS.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications begs leave to report as follows:

The work of the committee has consisted in preparing a full list of all works on genealogy to be found in the Illinois State Historical Library, to which has been added a list of works on genealogy, which, in its judgment, added to the list referred to as already in the Illinois State Historical Library, would constitute the beginning of a good working library on genealogy and genealogical publications.

The committee recommends also that the Secretary of State, the Hon. James A. Rose, be asked to transfer all works on genealogy and town histories (list herewith submitted) from the State library to the Illinois State Historical Library.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications.

JOINT MEETING OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE AND COMMITTEE ON SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858.

The Program Committee and the Lincoln-Douglas Committee of the Illinois State Historical Society met at 3:00 o'clock June 18, 1907, in the librarian's room of the historical library.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, the chairman of the Program Committee, presided.

There were present of the Program Committee:

Captain J. H. Burnham, General Alfred Orendorff, Mrs. Weber.

And by invitation:

Professor E. B. Greene, Mr. Andrew Russell.

There were present of the Committee on Lincoln-Douglas Debates:

Colonel Clark E. Carr, Mr. W. H. Clendenin, Judge Philip S. Post.

It was decided that at the annual meeting one address on Douglas and one on Lincoln be given. These addresses to be given at the two evening meetings of the annual session. After considerable discussion, it was decided to ask Mr. Horace White of New York to give the address on Lincoln and that General A. E. Stevenson of Bloomington, Ill., be asked to give the address on Douglas. It was also decided that the Committee on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates be asked to give a full and vigorous report as to what it had done and what was in contemplation, and that the society then take up further business in regard to the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and that the rest of the program for the annual meeting be made up in its usual way—of papers on various phases of State history.

Judge Post moved that the secretary of the society write to the local members of the Lincoln-Douglas committee, asking them to go ahead and make their plans for the celebration and report to the society at the annual meeting. These plans were satisfactory to both committees, the Program and the Lincoln-Douglas Debates Committees.

Letters were read from some members of the committee who were unable to be present. Charles P. Kane, by letter to the secretary, suggested that a paper on Elias Kent Kane, one of the most distinguished of the early statesmen of Illinois, be presented at the annual meeting. He suggested that Congressman George W. Smith could give this paper. Mrs. Weber thought it might be well to ask Mrs. Charles W. Thomas of Belleville to give the paper, instead of Congressman

Smith, as at that season Mr. Smith would be in Washington attending Congress. Mrs. Weber stated that Mrs. Thomas was the daughter of Governor W. H. Bissell and that her step-mother (second wife of Mr. Bissell) was the daughter of Elias Kent Kane, and that Mrs. Thomas was, of course, very familiar with Mr. Kane's personal history. The secretary was requested to ask Mrs. Thomas to give this paper. The secretary was also directed to ask William T. Davidson of Lewistown, Ill., to present a paper before the society.

The secretary read a letter from Mr. Paul Selby, making some suggestions as to papers for the meeting. Mr. Selby suggested that General A. L. Chetlain of Galena, Illinois, be invited to give his reminiscences, and that Hon. R. M. Benjamin be invited to present a paper on the constitutional convention of 1869-70. Various names were suggested by the members of the committee, and the secretary was directed to invite these various persons; and if unable to secure these speakers, to consult with the president and invite such others as may seem desirable and practicable. It was decided that the first morning of the annual session be entirely devoted to the business of the society, including the reports of officers and committees, and that no papers be delivered at this session. The matter of local arrangements for the annual meeting was left to the president and secretary, and the president was directed to appoint such committees as is necessary, to assist in making preparations for the annual meeting of the society.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

MEETING OF COMMITTEE TO REVISE THE MAILING LIST FOR THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

The Committee on the Revision of the Mailing List of the Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the librarian's room in the historical library June 18, 1907, at 8:30 a. m.

There were present: Mrs. I. G. Miller, Captain J. H. Burnham, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber and General Alfred Orendorff, who presided.

Captain Burnham moved that the secretary of the society have slips printed, to be inserted in each volume sent out, requesting an acknowledgment of the receipt of the volume, and stating that an acknowledgment would be considered a request for further publications. Mrs. Miller suggested that a double post card be used, half of which might be used by the recipient for the purpose of acknowledging the volume. Mrs. Weber stated that many societies used that form. It was decided that the secretary consider the matter and use whatever form seemed best suited to the needs of the society. The secretary read the list which she called her "official mailing list," which included all the members of the society, county superintendents of schools, members of the Legislature, the state libraries of the various states, Illinois members of Congress, United States Senators and judges of the State, historical societies and the city libraries of large cities, libraries throughout the State of Illinois and newspapers throughout the State. This plan of distribution was approved by the committee. It was suggested that county superintendents of schools be requested to give a list of their district school libraries. Mrs. Weber stated that in many instances county superintendents of schools had regarded volumes sent them as their personal property . The committee thought it desirable that each county have at its county seat a set of the historical society transactions, and it was finally decided that the secretary purchase a rubber stamp with the words, "'Property of the County;" this to be stamped in all volumes for county superintendents of schools, and if county superintendents desire personal copies, they are to be sent them on request. The question of the sale of the publications was considered. Mrs. Weber said that no publications had ever been sold, and the question was a somewhat delicate one, and that the Library Board had sometimes considered this, but had arrived at no decision about it.

Captain Burnham offered a resolution, which was seconded by Mrs. Miller, and was passed:

The motion recommended to the Library Board of the State Historical Library by the committee for the revision of the mailing list for the distribution of the books of the transactions of the society, the advisability of offering these books for sale to such as wish to purchase, but who are not eligible to the list for free distribution.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Note—The report of the secretary and treasurer of the society will be found at the close of this volume.

PART II.

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1907

A NATIVE ILLINOIS SUN MYTH.

By Clara Kern Bayliss.

I fear that I shall not be able to make you appreciate the importance of this Sauk myth and how fitting it is that it should be recorded in the historical publications of the State. It is about as difficult to make the paleface, unversed in Indian lore, understand the relationships which the red man sees between the heavenly bodies, between the cloud and the bird, etc., as it is to convey to the untutored savage—and for that matter, to many of the white people themselves—the esoteric meaning of divine incarnation, vicarious atonement and resurrection.

We are prone to think lightly of all faiths save our own. We say that the dull. prosaic red man of our acquaintance *has* no sentiment; no ancestral faith. Yet I had not been two days in a Mexican pueblo before I came upon a genuine survival of that ancient sun myth which was the starting point for every religion the world has ever known.

For primitive religion and philosophy everywhere began in an attempt to explain the sunrise and sunset, storms and earthquakes and all the more marked phenomena of nature. Every religion in the world —Christian, Buddhist, Parsee. American Indian—points to a more or less remote ancestry in nature worship; the degree of remoteness being proportionate to the stage of enlightenment possessed by the adherents of that religion. And it is not denial of true religion, but on the contrary it is the most incontrovertible proof of its existence. that in all lands and in all ages the finite mind has looked with admiration and reverence upon the manifestations of an overruling SOMEWHAT.

And what more worshipful Over Ruler had early man, groping in the pathless jungles of an unconquered wilderness, than the beneficent light of day? The earliest worship in the world was, as a matter of course, sun worship. It was inevitable that savage man, dwelling in perpetual fear of the wild beasts and the human foes that lurked around him, dreading the darkness and welcoming the daylight, should take the sun for his God and the darkness for his devil, and should give to each a whole retinue of followers. We Christians still speak of the sun as the God of day and of the devil as the imp of darkness, terms which have strayed down the centuries from some far-off ancestral nature worship.

It is noteworthy that all the deities of earth, from Jesus to Napi of the Blackfeet Indians, have departed from among men, but will come again, even as the sun god of early man retired at night to return

another day. "Though he be dead, yet shall he live again" is as old as the dawning conviction that it is the same sun that died last night which rises again in the morning.

Men have always instinctively worshiped *something*. At first it was the visible sun, coming to dispel their foes and fears of the night. Then it was some mystic potency behind or within the sun—the power to resurrect the dead vegetation and rejuvenate the earth; then a still more intangible and spiritual force, until they arrived at the Omnipotent and Omnipresent Mind which is the God of the Christian today.

Taken altogether, the myths of the American Indians form a complete system portraying the development of this God idea from the time of its first inception up to its arrival at a stage but one degree inferior to that which occupied the Hebrew mind at the time when the more primitive of the Old Testament books were written. The Oldbis of the Wintus of California is a most majestic personage, sitting aloft in his wigwam of flowering oaks on the top of the sky and issuing his commands in truly god-like fashion. And Napi, the Old Man Immortal of the Blackfeet, is a most gentle, helpful and humanly lovable being. Then there are a multitude of lesser beings which correspond to our archangels and to our (now rapidly evaporating) devil and his minions.

Taking one myth or one series of myths alone, it might seem fanciful to say that the arrow and the hummingbird represent rays of light; the grizzlies, clouds and fogs; that the decrepit old grandmother symbols the sky; the rolling head or rock, a destructive whirlwind; that a serpent is the synonym for the zigzag lightning darting across the heavens, etc. But when we find these same agents appearing again and again in the legends of different tribes, always assuming the same character and performing the same acts, then the evidence is cumulative, and there can be no question as to the significance of the agent.

In the myths of all tribes—the Incas of Peru, the Aztecs of Mexico, the Algonquins of the north, the Pueblos of the south coast and the tribes of the Pacific slope—we find the sun or the daylight acting as a beneficent giant, who can compass the earth at a single bound, and who is forever contending with an almost equally potent giant of darkness. On the side of the light god are arrayed the moon, stars, all bright colors and beneficial phenomena; while on the side of darkness are fogs, storms, noisome odors and all things of dire portent. Day after day, year after year, these two opposing forces contend for mastery, but neither one can wholly annihilate the other. Night after night the conflict is renewed, sometimes in a spirit of rivalry, with only a few of the foes confronting; at other times with the armies drawn up in full strength, to battle to the death.

It was natural that early man should personify the heavenly bodies, for he knew of nothing except an animate being that was warm like the sun and that moved as do the heavenly orbs, in a direct course and with seeming purpose. Moreover, he had to speak of them as "he" or "she," for his language had no neuter gender. And when once these objects were named and regarded as individuals, the myth making was well under way. Here were two hostile peoples pitted against

each other; the one led by the Sun, a chief whose shield blinded all by its brightness, and who was armed with bow and arrows (his rays of light) that could fly with killing effect to incredible distances. In his retinue were all things that loved the light, even the hearts of the dumb earth-bound trees yearning toward him. On the other side was a dread chief who could summon storms and lightning, pestilence and death to do his bidding. All the heavens and all the earth was the stage of action for these two forces; and wonderful were the comedies and tragedies which the red man saw enacted in the sky as he followed the trail through the forest by day or lay at night with face upturned to the starlit dome which bent above the boundless prairies. Wonderful were the dreams woven by his poetic fancy about the doings of the Sun Man, Moon Woman, Dawn Maiden and Star Children and their inveterate foes, the Storm Clouds and Darkness.

So detailed and so graphic did the descriptions of the conflicts between the two parties become as the myth developed in the minds of successive poet-philosophers that the Spaniards, who heard the Aztec legends about glorious ancestors whose dominion had been cut short by a barbarian horde of Chichimecs that rose up against them, never suspected—these Spaniards—that the mighty ancestors were the suns of past days and the Chichimecs were the countless stars of night summoned forth by the dark Tezcatlipoca, the brother and rival of the sungod.

The Navahoes of the southwest call the sun and his helpers *yéi* or gods; and the Darkness and his minions, *anáye* or alien gods. The Algonkins of the northeast designate the two as the good and evil Manitous. Like all deities of history, they were regarded as anthropomorphic, or manlike; and they were sometimes Sky Walkers and sometimes Earth Walkers. And in the myths, the transition from sky to earth and mundane nature, and back again to celestial, is often so sudden as to require violent mental gymnastics to follow it.

There were three chief theories regarding the re-appearance of the heavenly orbs. 1. One was that the sun, moon and stars rowed back *under* the earth in a canoe, or that they returned through a tunnel in the earth from west to east, so as to be ready to rise in the east at their own proper times. 2. Another was that they actually *died* in the west, but came to life again in the east. (And this gave rise to endless tales of death and resurrection among celestial bodies, men, animals, plants and trees; and also to a belief in a home of departed spirits somewhere in the sunsetting land.) 3. The third theory was that each day's luminary was the offspring of that of the preceding day. And these succeeding suns were named and were regarded as father, son and grandson.

This last was the conception of the Aztecs of Mexico, among whom yesterday's sun was old Camaxtli, and today's sun was the tall, fair young Quetzalcoatl. This, too, was the idea of the Algonkins of the northern United States. The youthful Sun is often pictured as wedding the Dawn Maiden and setting out with her on a long journey across the wide prairies of the Sky Country, the maiden usually perishing ere the journey is well begun; the Sun growing hourly more

virile and energetic until he passes the zenith, after which he begins to flag, to grow old; and when he reaches the mottled west at evening he is a decrepit, blotched old man, who falls into the sunset fire and is burned up, or who sinks into the ocean and is drowned—yet he is immortal, for all Sky Walkers are immortal.

This Sun Man *walks, talks, laughs,* shoots his arrows; but the personification reaches its climax when he is described as starting up the steps of the sky, counting the steps, "one, two, three," as he goes;* and when he warms to his work, changing his pace and springing across land and ocean, "nine miles to the leap."†

The great Algonkin family embraced all the tribes of northern United States from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific, with the exception of the Iroquois of New York and the Sioux of Dakota. Among the Abenaki-Algonkins of New England, Kulooskap is the Sun and also the sunlight or Daylight. Malsum, the Darkness, is his twin brother. But despite this relationship, the two live in perpetual conflict, daily pursuing each other across the world from east to west with murderous intent. Each is a giant and can stretch up till his head touches the stars and higher, or can shrink down until he is no larger than a mouse. Kulooskap, the Sungod, carries a magic bow and arrows (his rays of light) with which to pierce his enemies; and Malsum, the dark and dour, carries a black root from under the ground. They both live in the tent with their grandmother Sky, who sits bowed far forward—as skies and grandmothers are wont to sit. Kulooskap has a little brother, Martin, the Morning Star, whom the grandmother keeps ever with her, carrying him on her back, pappoose fashion—on a cradle-board, with face to the rear—so he is always the first to perceive the approach of Kulooskap and to whisper the good news to the old dame.

Once Malsum stole the old woman and the little brother and fled with them mile after mile, league after league, till they grew wan and weary and could scarcely travel farther; but through all his hardships the little Martin "still wore his good clothes," for the Morning Star remains trim and tidy to his last gasp. During their unwilling flight, Martin contrived to drop inscribed bits of bark along the route to guide Kulooskap in the pursuit. Kulooskap, overtaking them, hid himself behind the tree trunks so that Malsum would not see him just yet; and he whispered to Martin and the grandmother to go on with their captor for a little time longer and to throw Malsum's child into the fire (of the red dawn). After they had done so, Kulooskap stepped out from behind the tree trunks, stood close to Malsum, and, disdaining to shoot so feeble an opponent as the Darkness had now become, tapped Malsum lightly on the head with his bow, till he shrank down, lower and lower, smaller and smaller, "till he died like a dog" at the feet of his sunbright brother.

Once Kulooskap took Martin and the grandmother in his canoe and rowed away with them on a stream which was broad at first, but which became narrower until it passed into deep gorges and went

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* Mono (California myth). † Passamaquody myth.

under ground. (And this you will recognize as their return from west to east.) On and on he rowed, straight through the darkness and the night though he sang the songs of magic as he thus went through the territory of the enemy. In this dread land the grandmother and the little brother became as dead; but when morning approached, Kulooskap beached his canoe, carried the two ashore and bade them arise; and lo! the Morning Star shone out, the Sky became bright, and the Sun went on his way as usual.

Then Malsum stole upon Kulooskap as he lay asleep in the deep, dark forest, and struck him with the magic root, to kill him; but Kulooskap rose up "in sorrow and anger" and smote his wayward brother till he fell down, dead.

Thus the never-ending conflict went on from day to day, from year to year. Sometimes the Frost Giant came to the aid of Malsum and tried to freeze Kulooskap to death. The lakes froze over, the streams turned to stone, the sap in the trees became ice, the great oaks burst with a resounding snap, but Kulooskap only laughed and heaped up the fire till his adversary melted in the spring sunshine and flowed away.

I have thus briefly outlined the sun myth of the New England Algonkins, both to show that different versions of the same myth are found in different tribes and also to indicate the kinship of the Sauk myth of Illinois; for Black Hawk's famous tribe, with its three thousand acres of corn along Rock river and its populous city of Saukenuk near the conflux of that river with the Mississippi, belonged to the Algonkin family. They were Algonkins who migrated westward by way of Lake Huron and Saginaw Bay. Saginaw valley, where Champlain found them in 1612, was originally called Saukenong, the Place of the Sauks. Thence they were driven to Mackinac, and from there they came to Rock river, where they had been for more than a century when the white men drove them across the Mississippi.

In the Wi-sá-kä-ha myth of the Sauks we have the same conflict as in the Abenaki; the same light god; the same little brother; but the enemy here seems to be clouds instead of darkness, and the little brother comes a second time as the Evening Star, the morning and evening star being, in fact, the same.

We give but a fragment of this Sauk story, yet enough to show that it is no trivial tale, but a myth that deserves preservation in the annals of the State where it had its home. In this one myth we catch a glimpse of every separate stage in the development of religious philosophy. That is why it is so well worth preserving. The central figure is, first, a purely cosmic object or force, the sun or sunlight; second, a Something behind the sun, the Creator; third, a terrestrial teacher and friend of mankind; and, last of all, a Deity who has departed from among men, but who will come again to gather mortals into life everlasting.

And, however imperfectly the original conception is carried out, the myth begins with a grand celestial drama in which the morning sun rises through opposing clouds and steadily pursues his journey

through the heavens, distancing and dispelling all that seek to destroy him, and finally growing so strong and bold that he ventures, like Kulooskap into the very lair of his foes, and does them to death with one thrust of his swift penetrating darts.

And, remembering that they are fogs, how could realism go farther than in the description of the manitous on the island watchfully basking in the autumn sunshine; *shrieking* in their death agony, and summoning the avenging hosts, whose heavy, on-coming tread makes the whole earth tremble?

Or, what could be more fancifully graphic than the picture of the clouds pursuing the morning sun with steps that lag and falter as their adversary mounts higher, until the last feeble old man of them *halts to tie his moccasin string* and evaporates in the sultry heat of noontide?

The following is a condensation of the version given in the *Journal of American Folk Lore,* Vol. XIV, which is itself a condensation of the original myth:

First Stage.

Once upon a time there were manitous on the earth, under (within) the earth and far away where the stars now are. They were like people, marrying and rearing children, but they were tall, and big, and mighty. Over them ruled Gi-sha Ma-ne-to-wa, who had four sons, the two elder of whom were Wi-sa-ka-ha and Ki-ya-pa-ta-ha, grandchildren of the Sun.

These two children waxed so mighty that the manitous became jealous of their power and complained to their father, who, fearing that they would usurp his own dominion over the world, called together all the manitous and asked them to destroy the young men; but he told the manitous that they must first consult Hu-ki,* the old grandmother with whom they dwelt, for she loved the boys and tried to keep them ever with her. So the manitous, talking angrily, went to Hu-ki's lodge when the young men were absent. The din of their voices was like the growl of the thunder, and the tramp of their feet made the whole earth tremble.

When the old woman heard their plan she sat sad and silent, with her head bent far forward (like the sky) and her face hid in the palms of her hands. By and by she lifted her head slowly, looked at the manitous, and this is what she said:

"You may kill Ki-ya-pa-ta-ha, but you will be only the means of his becoming greater than ever; he will live forever. And as for Wi-sa-ka-ha, you will never be able to slay him, however much you may try. If you make the attempt, it will be the fiercest fight ever fought by manitous. I will have no part in it."

The manitous called a council, to which they invited Wi-sa-ka-ha and Ki-ya-pa-ta-ha, and they told them: "We are all going on a journey over a beautiful country belonging to Gisha Manetowa, and we ask you boys, his sons, to come with us. There will be two par-

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* More correctly, Mesä'kamigo'kwäha, the World-over Woman.

ties, one for the old and one for the young, and we should like you, Wisakaha, to accompany the elder manitous, and you, Kiyapataha, to go with the younger ones."

The youths consented, each joining his own party, and, departing in different directions, were soon out of sight of each other. The country into which Wisakaha went became more beautiful, and manitou after manitou dropped out by the way. In a little while he noticed that his company had dwindled to a few old manitous. They kept urging him to go ahead and take the lead. On nearing a cluster of hills he stopped and, glancing over his shoulder, beheld behind him only one very old manitou, who was in the act of stooping.

"Go on; do not stop for me," said the old (cloud) manitou. I shall be up and following you as soon as I have tied my moccasin string."

Wisakaha continued on, making no reply (a way the sun has). On coming to a hollow between two hills he again looked over his shoulder and found that he was alone. Straightway he hurried to the top of a hill ahead of him, but as he was ascending it he heard a cry from afar: "Oh, Wisakaha, my elder brother, I am dying!"

Wisakaha listened, and heard the cry repeated. He looked everywhere round about him and as he did so he heard the cry repeated for the fourth time: "Oh, Wisakaha, my elder brother, I am dying!" He ran from crest to crest, hoping to catch sight of his younger brother, but nowhere could he find him. Neither was a single manitou in sight in the whole wide country.

After a long search he returned home, suspecting that harm had befallen Kiyapataha at the hands of the manitous. He sought him in all the lodges, and was sorely grieved at not finding him. He mourned for him for four days, and on the evening of the fourth day as he sat weeping in the middle of his lodge, he heard a footstep approaching without, which grew softer the nearer it approached.

It paused at the doorway. It was Kiyapataha's ghost, seeking entrance. But Wisakaha whispered: "Do not rap, my younger brother. I must not let you in. I have a better place in which you may dwell. Go to the west, beyond the place where the sun goes down. There you shall not live alone. I will create a people after the race of our mother, and they shall follow you and live there, and you shall watch over them in the spirit world forever. Take this drum, this fife, this gourd rattle and this fire. You will need these things when you welcome our uncles and our aunts into the world of spirits."

Thereupon, the ghost reached its hand through the crack in the entrance-way and received the drum and the fife, and the rattle, and the fire; and, as the ghost started to go, it blew upon the fife and beat upon the drum; and straightway there sprang from the ground a vast throng of ghosts, whooping as they rose; and they accompanied the ghost of Kiyapataha on its way to the Land beyond the sunsetting.*

*The sky ground, for they were the stars.

After a time Wisakaha went forth to find the manitous who had slain his brother. He went far and hunted long. He was pacing the shore of the sea one day, weeping and sad, when a little bird fluttered against his cheek and whispered that it would tell him where lived the two manitous who had had most to do with the death of his brother. The bird pointed out a great sandbar or island in the sea and said that in the center of it was a hole leading to a cave in which the manitous dwelt. Every morning early they came out—(the fogs) and stretched themselves along the sand and lay there sunning themselves, one looking out over the sea to the north, the other to the south, guarding it so that no one could approach alive.

Wisakaha went away to a mountain in the northwest which reached high above the clouds, and there he sat, unobserved, looking down upon the manitous and planning how he could destroy them. It was autumn, and he noticed that the wind wafted dead leaves and grasses across the waters and they fell beside the manitous, unheeded. So he went down and rendering himself invisible, wafted himself over the water on a spider's web. He fell directly between the two manitous, and assuming his proper form, quickly sent an arrow into each of them.

Then the manitous *howled so loud with pain* that the earth shook, and the other manitous, hearing the cry, came hurrying to the rescue. Quickly Wisakaha thrust a hot manitou iron (manitou metal) into the wounds, following the track made by his arrows. The manitous far away among the hills heard the shriek of pain coming from the dying chiefs, and straightway they beheld puffs of smoke shooting skyward from the island. Then they *caught the smell of burning flesh.* (Think of the realism of that!)

Again the wrath of the manitous burst forth. They talked angrily, and the earth shook under the heavy tread of their hurrying feet. (This is the gathering of the storm clouds.) They sent Sha-sha-ga-ha, a small snake (symbol of the lightning), ahead to see what was happening, bidding it go under ground and show only its head above the earth of the island. Sha-sha-ga-ha went. But the moment it lifted its little head above the soil Wisakaha beckoned it to come out and sit beside him. Then he broke up the bodies of the dead manitous and fed the little snake on them till it could hold no more. Then he tied a string of the fat meat around its neck and sent it back to the manitous to show them how he had feasted it on their dead chiefs, and to bid them come and feast on the same flesh.

The wrath of the manitous waxed hot at this taunt. They rushed tumultuously to the island, but only to find that Wisakaha had fled, leaving the remains of the two chiefs cooking over the fire.

The wrathful manitous howled and wailed, and hurled the fire into all the places where they thought Wisakaha might be in hiding. Then they sent fierce storms, so that the rivers overflowed, the lakes rose and all the land was covered with water.

Wisakaha fled, pursued by the manitous and the flood which they had created. Up and up climbed the waters, till they reached the top of the highest mountain and then the topmost branch of a tall pine in which Wisakaha had taken refuge.

Second Stage.

A muskrat floating dead upon the waters. Wisakáha pulled to him and restored to life. Then he sent it down to dive for earth; and it came up dead but with a little ball of mud in its fore claws. Again Wisakaha restored it to life, and dropping the ball into the flood, soon found himself on dry land, a new earth, flat and level everywhere. And on it Wisakáha built him a lodge.*

One day as he sat in front of his lodge making arrows for the people he intended to create (and here the Sungod has become the Creator), he heard a voice calling to him from afar, "Oh, Wisakáha!" He heard it again and again; and the fourth time the cry sounded he looked up into the sky, when lo! he found it was the Sun, his grandfather, who was calling to him.

"Come up to my lodge," said the Sun, "the Buzzard will carry you on his back."†

Wisakáha was glad; and the next time Buzzard came on a visit he told him what the Sun had said. Now, Buzzard was at that time the most beautiful of all creatures; the blue, the red, the yellow, the green and the white of his feathers dazzled the eyes of all who looked upon him. His plumage was as gorgeous as the tints of the sunset, and he dwelt in the sky with his kindred, far away from all others of living kind. He was very proud. But he knew better than to refuse the Sun and Wisakáha, so he stooped and let Wisakàha climb upon his back. Then he spread his wings and rose up, up, and still up, till they vanished from the eyes of the creatures on earth.

The journey was a long one, occupying many days. But at last the Sun saw his grandson approaching and went to meet him. He stretched out his hand in welcome, and just as Wisakàha let go of Buzzard to grasp his hand, Buzzard flew from beneath him. Then down fell Wisakàha, now diving head foremost, now lying on his back, now plunging feet first, now whirling over and over. Thus Wisakáha fell, and would have been dashed to pieces on the earth had not his grandfather, the Tree, seen him and caught him in his outspread arms, thus saving him from death.

Then was Wisakáha wroth. But he concealed his anger and after a lapse of time sent Buzzard word that he wished to see him. When Buzzard came, Wisakàha bade him summon all his kindred, as he had a message for them. After they had all assembled, Wisakáha said:

"And so, Buzzard, you thought it was fun to drop me down from my grandfather's country after you had carried me to it. I am displeased with you and intend to punish you. The earth is level since the flood. You and your kindred must now dig courses for the rivers, and pile up hills and mountains, giving shape to all the earth. Your beautiful feathers shall change to the color of the soil; and the people

* This muskrat story and the following one of the buzzards are common Indian traditions about the restoration and shaping of the earth after a flood.

† The ancestors of the buzzards were the irridescent clouds of morning and evening.

whom I shall make when all this is done will look upon you as the most loathsome of living kind."

Thereupon the Buzzards set to work—and sad were they at their task—some forming into one line one behind another, pushing their breasts against the soil, plowing out the river courses. Others dug up the earth with their talons, piling huge mountain ridges and soaring slowly along the slopes, shaping them with the under side of their wings.

Thus Wisakáha prepared the world for his people. Then he drove the manitous away—some into the ground, and to these he gave the charge of fire; and others he sent above, where they may now be seen as stars. Among the latter is Gisha Manetowa, the Great Manitou, who built his lodge on the shore of the White river (the Milky Way); and there he dwells, he and many of the manitous who had warred against Wisakáha. Others went to the south, and of these Wisakàha made Thunderers, the guardians of the people.

Third Stage.

Last of all, Wisakáha created people, making the first men and women out of clay that was red as blood. These were the Meskwàkiaga, the Red Earths or Foxes.* Then he remained a long time *on earth,* teaching the people how to hunt, how to grow food in the fields, how to sing and dance and play all sorts of games, how to pray, how to live peaceably with one another, and many other good things.

Fourth Stage.

So, after he had taught them all these things, he called them together and said: "Now, I am going away to leave you. I am going away to the north, to build me a lodge amid the ice and snow. Thither you cannot come, unless it is my wish that you should see me. But I will appear to you once every year—not in the form you see me now, but in the flakes of the first snowfall. When I think you have dwelt long enough on this earth, I shall return to you as I am now, as youthful as when I leave you. And this will be the sign by which you will know me: My braided hair will fall down between my shoulders just as now; you will know me by the eagle feathers in my hair at the back;† by this bow, which I shall hold in one hand, and this arrow, which I shall hold in the other. Then I shall take you with me to the west, where you shall meet your kindred who have gone there, and shall dwell with them forever. After I have taken you to your new home, I shall return to destroy this world, and then shall stay with you forever."

This is the promise Wisakàha made before he went away to the north.

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* Who united with the Sauks; the two being commonly known as the Sacs and Foxes.

† It is from the tip of this eagle feather that the light of day emanates.

‡ It will be noticed that Kiyapataha and the Sun call four times, four being the magic number with the Indians because there are four points to the compass, four winds, etc.

§ In a Wintu myth, Waida Werris came to a lodge so noiselessly that no one knew he was there. Waida Werris is the Pole Star.

THE GREAT CAHOKIA OR MONK'S MOUND.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ILLINOIS.

By Clark McAdams.

My first duty is to acknowledge the signal honor the Illinois Historical Society does me in inviting me back to my native State to address you upon a subject in which I claim no other qualification than that I am my father's son.

I was raised in an atmosphere of interest in and study of those ancient peoples whose occupation of the Mississippi valley antedated our own. In my father's house there were many manifestations of devotion to the subject. Indian axes held our doors ajar in summer. Our mantle vases came from the mounds. Most of our family commandments pertained to the care of precious flints and fragile pots, that in contact with hot and headlong youth they might not perish.

I was quite familiar with the great Cahokia mound before I heard of the pyramids of Egypt. I was a very vain authority upon the famous pictograph of the Piasa Bird before I made the acquaintance of St. George and his dragon; and if any one had assured me in my archæological dawn that persons in Europe had painted infinitely greater pictures upon canvas than our ancients had ever painted upon the Alton bluffs, my spirited retort would have been that it was no such thing. Discoidal, I think, was the first big word in the lexicon of my youth. I can well remember times when I impressed teachers and schoolmates with my advanced erudition by tripping off glibly such words as hieroglyphics and aborigines. In my very early youth I was quite aware that all was dross in the ceramic arts that had not come from the mounds. I lived many years in eagerness to some day become a man and smoke some of our big Indian pipes.

Kindred spirits visited my father's house. They wore the first long black coats of which I have any recollection. They spent days investigating the things in our house, which was a veritable museum; and I have sometimes had the vain thought that they must have regarded my brother and me as very valorous youngsters, for the room in which we slept was frequently the repository for a row of grinning skulls, while on the wall behind was the terrible picture which some of you may recall of Neanderthal man restored. The late Major J. W. Powell, chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, was one of the men who visited my father at our home. You may imagine what a very small corner I could stow into to keep out of the way of this very big man through those delightful evenings when he would tell us of the cliff dwellings, the Grand canyon, or some other wonder in some far away land.

When I grew old enough I became my father's companion in the field. We worked for years in that great chain of mounds which stretches from end to end of the Illinois river. We camped and dug and explored. As my father's pupil, I came to know the different types of mounds. I learned how to excavate them and how to remove without breaking the fragile Indian pot. We used long steel probes to guide us in our work, and when I had become so expert I could tell by the grit or thump of the probe whether it were striking bone or stone, I pleased my father indeed.

We engaged in this delightful work many summers, and no father ever knew his children better than we knew our mounds. We named those which had no names, and the delights of the Swiss Family Robinson in the possession of their island home were not greater than our own feeling that we had certain property rights in several hundred picturesque Illinois river mounds, which, when I should become rich and powerful, I would rescue from the farmers, who did not hesitate to plow them and sow them in wheat and corn.

Through the two years prior to the Columbian Fair at Chicago we worked in the field as much as the climate permitted. My father was preparing the Illinois archæological exhibit to be made at the fair, and he was anxious to have things fresh from the mounds. So in those two years I saw a great deal of the archæology of Illinois, a portion of our field work being in the great Cahokia group of mounds in the American bottom.

This was a school of practical archæology, in which the ancient dweller in the Mississippi valley became to me a wonderful entity haloed with that charm of mystery which seemingly must always make him, of all idealistic figures in the romance of the new world, the most delightful to contemplate. I could not stand upon the great Cahokia mound without feeling that out of the dumb dirt comes a greeting to this age from that in which it was built; without picturing fancifully the departed glories of this great structure where once men teemed and toiled in what awful or ideal relation we may not know. I have never stood upon another spot which impressed me as this mound can, and it is not hard for me to close my eyes upon its summit and think I may almost see its primitive builders at work transporting in skins and bags the burdens of which it was built. In imagery I can picture the ruler, the endless chain of workers revolving about the mound and through the pits below, where they digged their dirt, and the great sun beaming affection for faith.

I have stood many times upon one of the bluff-crowning mounds along the Illinois river and tried to imagine the great drama of antiquity one time enacted there—the mound builders shaping their mounds upon the topmost heights; the strange boats in the river below; the mourners bearing their dead up the steep trails to the mounded peaks, there to rest them where their undying eyes might contemplate forever the beautiful valley in which they lived.

ONE OF THE BIG ILLINOIS RIVER MOUNDS.

The archæology of Illinois is an inviting subject, because it is full of promise. I do not know of another state or territory in the Union which has before it a prospect equalling that offered here by the Cahokia group of mounds in Madison and St. Clair counties. Here is a group of seventy-two mounds, one of them the largest remaining work of the ancients north of Mexico, and the group itself unquestionably marking the site of the metropolis of our country in ancient time, which is yet to be explored. If the archæologists working in Egypt had not yet explored the pyramids of Gizeh, and those working in Mexico had not yet explored the Temple of the Sun, the status of archæology in those fields would be analogous to that in Illinois at this time, when we have not yet explored the great Cahokia group. This does not mean that for almost a hundred years they have not been gophered at, for they have been the scene of desultory exploration from the time of Brackenridge, in 1811, until now. It does not mean that they have not been studied upon the exterior by a great many scientists and students, for they have long been the object of a great deal of learned attention. It does not mean that they have not yielded anything to the science of archæology in either a local or comparative sense, for we regard them today as the nearest approach to written history left in the Mississippi valley by the people who built mounds for other purposes than for mere burial. It does not mean that they have not contributed a great deal to our archæological collections, for the immediate vicinity of the Cahokia mounds, and some of the mounds themselves, have been for years and continue today a fertile field for collectors.

What it does mean is that the archæology of Illinois, and that of the whole country as well, has not opened the most promising page of the book when the Cahokia group remains without thorough exploration; when the great mound which is the chief glory of the group remains unopened, and when the several huge. table-like tumuli in the group have scarce been explored deeper than the reach of the ploughshare.

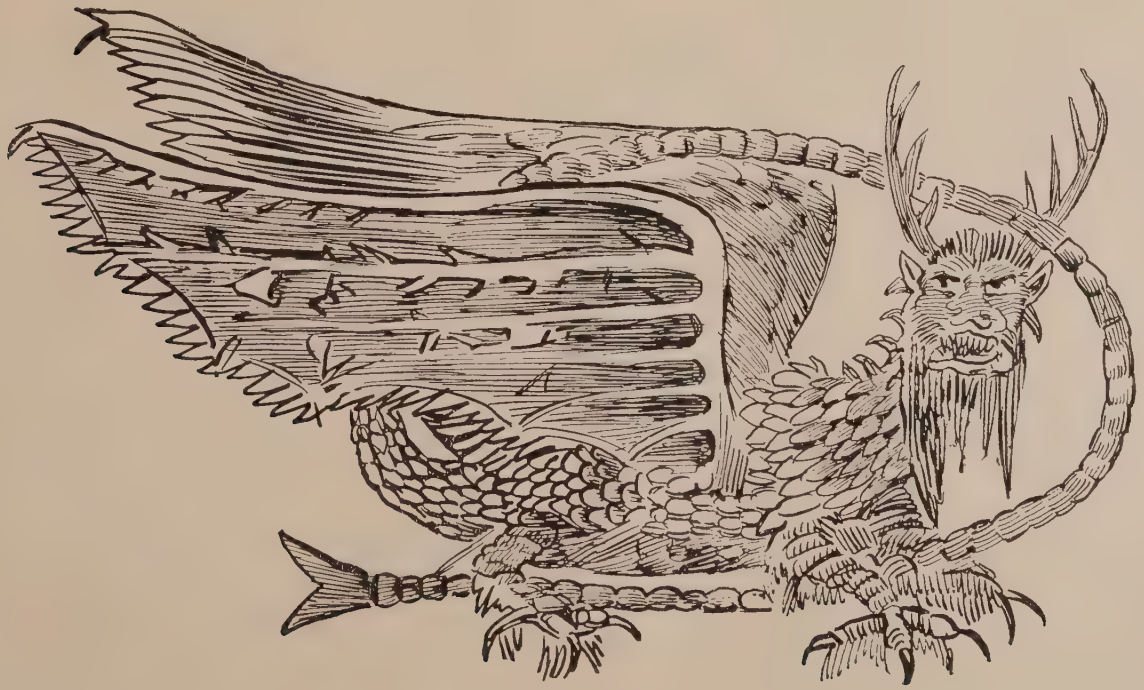
It is almost alarming to think that Illinois archæology may continue much longer to drift in the aimless fashion which has characterized it since the importance of the Cahokia mounds became known. We have seen the hope of complete preservation irreparably lost. The vandal and the farmer have worked wonders in obliteration. We have seen the height of all the big table mounds diminish steadily every year. We have seen the most beautiful and conical mound in the group divested of its head by men who, for all the care they took to preserve the configuration of the mound, might have been digging for worms. We have seen the kind-faced, but sharp-hoofed cow climb over the precious face of the great Cahokia mound, until that priceless pyramid exposes trails and spots so vulnerable to the forces of erosion that every rain sees something of its immensity descend in solution and every year sees it lose some part of its perishable configuration.

If the great Cahokia mound belonged to the Illinois Historical Society and enjoyed its protection, what a comfort it would be to those of us that tremble for its future! The Serpent mound of Ohio

belongs to the Ohio Historical Society, Colorado has induced the government to take over her cliff dwellings. The government has stretched forth its strong arm at Casa Grande and many other places in the wonderland of the west. What of the Cahokia pyramid, lest it perish? It is so much greater than much that has been protected in other states and made inviolate forever! It is so much more important to science and education than the Serpent mound of Ohio, the old pueblos of Arizona, or even the cliff dwellings in Colorado, wonderful as they are!

For a State which has had within her confines some of the most distinctive records of the ancients, Illinois has an absolutely shameful record as to their preservation. We formerly had in this State the masterpiece of the ancient American pictographers. This was the Piasa Bird, which decorated the face of a Mississippi river bluff at Alton. The Piasa Bird was quarried down in the winter of 1846-7 and burned for lime. Our sole and feeble plea in extenuation is that if it had not been quarried down, it would probably have disappeared by this time, as St. Cosme, who saw it in 1699, said it was even then very faint; and Russell, who saw it in the 1830's, says the Indians had almost entirely destroyed it with their bullets and arrows. But our experience with these pictographs along the Mississippi sadly weakens this defense. There is a group of them three miles above the spot where the Piasa was quarried down which my father sketched when he came to Illinois in the middle of the last century. He thought they could not long endure. But those of them which have not been carried away by natural falls in the bluff or cut out by collecting vandals are there today to delight us, and in my judgment they will continue there for many generations to see them, granting only they receive the protection denied the Piasa.

I am not going to suggest the way in which the great Cahokia mound might be taken over to that protective care it deserves, but I want to emphasize the urgent need that this be done. It belongs today to Mrs. Ramey, whose husband in his time gave to its preservation a great deal of care and thought. Mrs. Ramey is a very aged lady, and if, at her death, it should fall into other hands, we shudder to think of the possibilities, although they are not probabilities. Mr. D. I. Bushnell of St. Louis has made the only serious effort to purchase the mound of which I have any knowledge. He one time offered Mrs. Ramey $10,000 for it. She asked $100,000, and he has recently told me that since then she has increased her valuation by $50,000. Mr. Bushnell's proposition, which was made as the representative of other interests, was that he purchase eighteen acres. The mound covers slightly more than sixteen, leaving but a slight margin around the base in an eighteen-acre tract. From what I have recently seen over there, the big mound is the only one in the group sufficiently preserved to hope for any great financial outlay to preserve it. But two excavations of any extent have ever been made in the big mound. One of these was for a well, and penetrated forty feet through the west apron of the mound. The other was a short tunnel in the north end a little higher than half way up. This tunnel was made for the purpose of



THE PIASA BIRD.

exploration by the owner, Mr. Ramey, to test a neighborhood story that a certain pine tree upon the side of the mound indicated the way in to interior vaults or treasure. After driving the tunnel in some fifty feet, Mr. Ramey abandoned the quest concluding that the folklore of the neighborhood was hardly so reliable as the traditional treasure island chart. Notwithstanding the belief of not a few scientists and students that the big mound is either wholly or partially a natural eminence shaped by the ancients, both these explorations confirmed, to the limited extent of their penetrations, the almost general belief that the mound is wholly artificial. In sinking the well the explorer found occasional bits of pottery, some of them within a few inches of the base of the mound. In the tunnel Mr. Ramey found only a piece of crude lead, which is but one of many such finds in the Cahokia district, in and out of the mounds. There was once a farm house on the top of the mound, and in excavating a cellar for this, the builder of the house found a number of human bones. My father was convinced that the great mound was artificial. The almost sheer wall of black earth upon the north end always seemed to him to be the same sticky soil which covers the American bottom, and when he examined earth taken out in one of the excavations he was quite sure he could detect evidences that the earth had been thrown down in almost uniform quantities, as if each had been what a laborer could have carried, perhaps in a skin. Mr. Fenneman, who visited the mound last summer, thought he detected loess in places upon it, and he belives that at least some part of it is natural. But the possibility that he may be mistaken serves to comfort those of us who have long ceased to question the innumerable indications that the mound builders had no reason to render thanks to any one but themselves when they shaped it up and exclaimed, "Behold, it is done!"

The great Cahokia mound is often called the Monks' mound, a local name given it in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the monks of La Trappe appeared in the American bottom and secured a grant of land which included the big mound and many others of the group.

The local history of this occupation was never satisfactory to me, and some two years ago I set about learning more of it. The Rev. Fr. Obrecht, abbot of the Trappist monastery at Gethsemane, Ky., was then upon the eve of departure for a visit to the parent monastery of the order in France. I secured his promise to make inquiry for anything bearing upon the Cahokia mounds that might have found its way into the archives in France, and upon his return he wrote me the following letter:

"About the end of November, 1808, two Trappists—Father Urbain, Superior, and Father Joseph—looking for a favorable settlement for their colony of about 35 religious brothers and children, met M. Jarrot, formerly procurator of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, who, having settled at Cahokia, remained there several years. He offered to Father Urbain 400 acres of land, consisting chiefly of vast prairies surrounded by thick forests, on the border of a little river near the Mississippi. This offer seemed at first advantageous, but for some reason was not accepted at the time. Many other offers were made which were not taken into serious consideration. Father Urbain was

then very sick. He remained, however, at Cahokia and St. Louis until the last days of January, 1809, then, with Father Joseph, he returned to Casey Creek, Ky.

"Shortly after, the major part of the community left Kentucky for St. Louis, Father Urbain remaining at Casey creek with four brothers to settle some business. He left this place six months later, and with three of his brothers and six children, three of whom were negroes, went to Florissant, where he arrived on Nov. 2, 1809. This place having not been found convenient, Father Urbain resolved to settle on the lands previously offered to him by M. Jarrot on the other side of the Mississippi, where he repaired with his community. On the first days of 1810, he bought on the Looking Glass Prairie the two highest of the forty ramparts which formed the ancient necropole of the Indian. (This place was most probably the great burying ground of Indian tribes under preceding ages.) When digging the ground to lay the foundations of their homes, the religious Trappists found many bones, idols, arms and materials of war, and many other Indian antiquities. These elevations were generally called ramparts, and the highest of them still has the name Rampart of the Monks, or Monks' Mound.

"These Indians had erected these gigantic monuments—pyramid-like, not square, however, and built with stones and brick like the pyramids of Egypt—but with ground purposely carried and heaped up on a circular basis of 160 feet, and reaching a height of more than 100 feet. This vast field was formerly called Indiana Mound.

"The Trappists having bought two of these mounds, they erected on the smallest of them twenty and some little houses made of logs. Their intention was to build later on upon the highest mound an abbey near the highway a few miles from St. Louis and the great bridge crossing the Mississippi. The highest and largest of these little buildings, in the middle of the others, was the church; another the Chapter Room; another the Refrectory, etc. Each was large enough to contain them all. Seen from a short distance, these dwellings of Monks' Mound looked like a little village or camp of travellers. To this beginning of the Trappists in Illinois, Father Urbain gave later on the name of Our Lady of Bon Secours.

"Shortly after their arrival at Monks' Mound, the Trappists had to suffer from a very malignant fever, the fatigue and hardships of their first installation and, usually, a corrupted water—the only one they could drink and use for their cooking—having sickened them all. At their door was flowing a little river so full of fish that many of them, dead, were floating on the water. Such unhealthy water the Trappists drank; they had no time to dig a well. Long before, several Indian tribes having tried to settle there, they were for these reasons obliged to leave. Father Urbain fell sick like the others. The soil, at first tilled and sown, was abandoned for absolute want of work. At last they could dig a well, which provided them with excellent water. A good Catholic of Cahokia came to their assistance, and soon the community was on foot. Only one religious had died so far.

"The first difficulties had not depressed the courage of the Trappists, and they were ready to suffer much more for the glory of God and the welfare of their adoptive country; but another difficulty presented itself. Father Urbain had some doubts about the titles of the land he had bought in Illinois. The government might contest them and make the Trappists lose the fruit of all their labors, together with their hopes for the future. He then intended to have the titles of ownership of the 400 acres he then possessed ratified and sanctioned by the two houses of the next Congress; at the same time he would try and secure the same ratification and sanction for 4,000 additional acres he intended to buy in the neighborhood. He had every hope to succeed in his undertaking. When Congress met, he had no difficulty in obtaining the ratification and sanction of the title of the 400 acres actually in his posssession, but, in spite of all his efforts and many sacrifices (Father Urbain being obliged to remain for a long time at Washington without any other resources than the public charity) he could never obtain the hope of similar action for the 4,000 acres he intended to buy. The President of the

Congress himself, and a good many of the members in both houses, were in favor of this acquisition by the Trappists; but many others (the most influential) owners of vast tracts in Maryland and Pennsylvania, being afraid that the coming population would settle around the Trappist monastery, thus leaving perhaps deserts the vast lands they owned, opposed the proposition by all possible means, and succeeded in preventing its realization. The sessions of that Congress lasted until April 25, 1810.

"From Washington, Father Urbain returned to Our Lady of Bon Secours (Monks' Mound) and found the majority of his religious in good health and very busy with their plantation. The rough buildings had been somewhat improved. All, from the Superior of the colony to the last head of cattle, had much to do. Father Urbain's attention, however, was directed toward the surrounding population, which he says in a letter dated April 28, 1810, were in a deplorable moral condition. There was only one Catholic priest—Rev. Rogation Olivier—who resided at Prairie du Chien, Illinois, and attended Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. For fourteen years he was the only priest in that country. To instruct and evangelize these communities, Father Urbain sent two religious—Father Joseph and Father Bernard, a Canadian whom he had brought with him from New York to Casey Creek. Father Bernard had for his task St. Louis and the two borders of the Mississippi; but, being old already and exhausted by many previous labors, he soon succumbed, probably in February, 1811. Father Joseph, more intrepid, (his name was Jean Pierre Dunand, born in France in 1774; grenadier in the French arms during the great Revolution. He was one day ordered to shoot a priest. He refused to obey, and, leaving the army, became a Trappist religious) went farther into the west beyond the great river, baptizing, evangelizing, visiting the sick, burying the dead, etc. He went through almost the whole country without a stop, traveling day and night, correcting abuses and converting the sinners. At the death of Father Bernard, Father Urbain, together with the care of his community, took upon himself the task left by his departed brother, and showed the greatest energy and most admirable zeal in continuing this most excellent work of civilization.

"About the middle of the year 1812, a terrible calamity befell the community at Monks' Mound. A very pernicious fever had for two years, and mostly during the summer of 1811, devastated the whole country. At the beginning of the following year, it was the turn of the Trappists at Monks' Mound. In a very short time all of them were unable to do anything, even to help one another. The intensity of the scourge decreased during the autumn, but the following year (1813) brought it back again with renewed severity. The most necessary things became out of price; many people who could not care for their children sent them to Father Urbain, who could not refuse them. The sickness was extreme in the community. All sacred vessels, except a single one, were sold one after the other. Religious and brothers fell victims of the epidemic. There was left scarcely a sufficient number to bury the dead. More than half of the community had disappeared, and those who were still alive were so weak that it seemed impossible for them to stand any longer against such unhealthful conditions. Having sold the best they could their property and materials, in March, 1813, the Trappists left Monks' Mound, going to Pittsburg, N. Y., and later returning to France.

"A new colony of Trappists came to America and founded the colony of Gethsemane, Ky., in 1848.

"We know of no picture of the mound with the monastry on it, nor of the monastery, which consisted, in fact, of twenty and some little buildings."

Brackenridge visited the Monks' mound when the monks of La Trappe were there. He saw their houses and the grains and fruits growing upon the great mound. He makes a similar report as to the great numbers of bones and relics everywhere dug up around the mounds. He says the bluffs east of the Cahokia group seem to have been one vast burying ground, and that the quantity of bones and artifacts everywhere dug up in and among the mounds was enormous.

But, for all that, it is doubtful if the whole cemetery of the Cahokia ancients has ever been discovered. My father was inclined to think it had not. Where so many people lived for so many generations, there must have been a much greater burial of the dead and their possessions than has been discovered. I think his experience of 1882, when he took more than 100 pieces of pottery from the flat field at the northeast corner of the big mound, constitutes the nearest approach that has been made to actual discovery of the principal cemetery of Cahokia. But what is such a handful, and what are all the ends and odds of bone and stone discovered everywhere about the group, when we think of what must have been buried? Prof. WJMcGee estimates the population of the immediate vicinity, when the community which built the mounds was in its fullest power, at from 100,000 to 150,000. I believe it is the general opinion of archæologists who have studied the question that the Cahokia mounds mark the site of the ancient metropolis of the United States. Morgan does not estimate the population of any of the ancient Ohio communities at more than two, three or four thousand; and even the Chaco canyon in New Mexico, with all its giant pueblo ruins, is not credited by later estimates with a greater population than forty or fifty thousand. So that if we are to subscribe in any great measure to Professor McGee's estimate of the ancient population of the Cahokia region, we permit it no rivals for metropolitan honors. I have not fully shared Professor McGee's theory as to the population of Cahokia; but I have seen the Chaco, and I have unhesitatingly yielded Cahokia first place in both population and age.

We can very easily underestimate in approximating the population of a community like that which must have lived for a long time in the American bottom. It must be remembered that the Cahokia group almost certainly antedates the burial mounds so numerous in the Illinois valley and along the whole Illinois bank of the Mississippi. Cahokia dates back to the ante-hunting era in which the Indians were agricultural. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the actual builders of the Cahokia mounds may never have seen a buffalo, this privilege coming long afterward to the later generations of Cahokians. The immensity of their village site, as we can see it in its ruins; the wholly agricultural type of much of their work in flint, such as the great spades and hoes almost peculiar to that vicinity; the suitability of the rich alluvial bottomland for such agriculture as they had, and what we know of the buffalo and the effect its phenomenal increase and spread across the country had upon aboriginal life, all contribute to prove that the people who populated Cahokia were perhaps wholly agricultural. They probably fished and hunted to some extent, but they depended for their subsistence upon labor in the field, and their staple food was unquestionably corn.

In this consideration we discover the line which divides the two principal eras of aboriginal life in the Mississippi valley. When the buffalo multiplied with such rapidity as to overflow its native plains and crossed the Mississippi to penetrate as far east as Virginia and as far southeast as the Carolinas and Georgia, the Indians in the territory

covered by this overflow began to find the chase an easier and more engaging means of subsistence than growing crops. Fewer corn rows were planted and more hunting was done. Allen says, speaking of the Great Bone Lick in Kentucky: "The evidence obtained at this point leads to the conclusion that the first appearance of the buffalo in Kentucky was singularly recent, and also shows that their coming was like an irruption in its suddenness." We know what a transformation this wrought in the case of the Siouan peoples, who left their homes in the east and hunted the buffalo westward until the more adventurous located in the Dakotahs.

These people passed through Illinois, and undoubtedly we have many records of that migration in the newer mounds and the great abundance of artifacts from the stone age, which we never see without feeling that they were subsequent to the more agricultural types of stone art having their foremost representatives in the big and commonly known southern Illinois spades and hoes. To approximate the time when this great movement occurred is perhaps not so difficult as we may think. That it occurred within the last 500 years would seem extremely likely. The buffalo wave seems to have reached its eastern and southern crest between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1540-41 DeSoto marched diagonally through the southern part of the United States from Florida to Arkansas. He first heard of the buffalo from some of his soldiers who went into the mountains of northern Georgia. It was absent from southern Georgia, as it had been from Florida, and he saw nothing of it in Alabama and Mississippi. Only upon crossing the Mississippi did he find himself in a buffalo country. Yet the buffalo is known to have subsequently ranged over all this territory, with the possible exception of Georgia. It even got as far as the gulf. DuPratz found it abundant in Mississippi early in the eighteenth century, and says it was then, and had been for a long time, the chief food of the Indians in that part of the country. The eastern range of the buffalo in the country north of that traversed by DeSoto, while ante-dating the southeastern range considerably, could not, then, have been at its height in the middle of the sixteenth century. From which we must conclude that the transition in aboriginal life east of the Mississippi was probably proceeding at the time of the Columbian discovery and doubtless worked its greatest changes even after that time. It marked the close of the agricultural era, which in its fullness had produced the Cahokia mounds. The people of Cahokia naturally would have felt the influence of the eastward range of the buffalo long before tribes east of them were affected by the same agency, so that the westward movement of the Siouan peoples to the Mississippi could have found Cahokia long ago deserted.

We can easily understand how the one mode of life made Cahokia and how the other destroyed it. We know that agriculture, when practiced to the virtual exclusion of all other means of subsistence, influenced the Indians to live in permanent homes in communal relation and to be comparatively peace loving. Upon the other hand, we know that the chase made them nomadic and warlike. The advantages which the one mode of life possesses over the other for progress and civiliza-

tion are obvious. So we may well believe that the lower state of barbarism in which some of our chase-following Indians were found by the whites was, perhaps, considerably lower than the same people had enjoyed in earlier generations, when they were farming in the American bottoms.

The inevitable result of the appearance of the buffalo at Cahokia would have been the gradual abandonment of agriculture and, eventually, a complete breaking up of the communtiy. What had formerly been a populous community—a primitive city—subsequently sufficed to but sparsely people a wilderness. The American bottom offered every inducement to the one mode of life and virtually none to the other. Coronado's historian, Castaneda, tells us that the Pueblo Indians, who practiced agriculture, lived in populous and permanent communities exactly as we find them today; but that the Comanches, who hunted the buffalo, had no homes, but ever wandered the plains in roaming bands. Defections from the Cahokia community, due to the buffalo, could have so weakened it by the time the westward movement of eastern tribes set in toward the country of better hunting that aggressive people, pushing in from the east and north, could have driven the remainder off down the valley. But it seems the likelier that, of their own choice to hunt rather than to farm, the Cahokians were themselves the undoers of all they had done in the long period of time in which they had dwelt there, and that they left of their own sweet will, rather than that any part of them fled from invaders.

Unquestionably but a small part of the whole number of buffalo ever crossed the Mississippi river, and those which did get beyond it were so reduced in numbers when the Europeans came that they were no longer a factor in the primitive life of the east. We know, however, that even after the Revolutionary war some of the eastern Indians were going west to the buffalo country. Harmon's journal of the first years of the nineteeth century relates that bands of Iroquois Indians penetrated into the northwest beyond Lake Superior to hunt the buffalo, some of them seeming to have become permanently estranged from the main body of their people. Though it is known that the prairies of Illinois must have been, in the time when the buffalo overflow was at its height, a favorite range of the buffalo east of the Mississippi, and while it is known that the first white people to penetrate here occasionally saw a buffalo east of the river, it is a rare thing to find any sort of buffalo sign in the mounds. I think that in all the time I worked in the field along the Mississippi and Illinois rivers I saw but one piece of buffalo bone taken from the mounds, and the absence of the buffalo from the pictographs of this region, the effigy pottery and the pipes and flints, seems to indicate that in the centuries when the most of our archæological records were made the people of Illinois did not know the buffalo, at least to any great extent. In the subsequent era when they did know him, and intimately, their mode of life had so changed that they no longer made or left anything much which reflected their experience. A nomadic people leave but dim tracks, so swiftly do they move about and to such a low order of barbarism do they descend when hunters and nothing more. Cas-

taneda says the Comanches were almost like wild animals, eating the flesh of the buffalo raw, and having scarce any implements or utensils beyond those with which they slew and dressed their game.

Had it not been for the Illinois river, it is likely that the first explorers of Illinois would have found here but few Indians. The great chase had passed off to the west. The Indians who had not gone west ward with it, having lapsed from the old mode of life and not wholly embracing the new, became a composite type which practiced something of the old pursuit and something of the new. They hunted some and farmed some, and both the chase and the field furnished sustenance. They were semi-nomadic, and this tended to discourage large communities and structures for communal dwelling, such as their forebears had reared at Cahokia. Whatever progress they had made toward government in the agricultural era, when they doubtless did have men of comparatively great power, lapsed into small chieftaincies. In a word, the old mode of life assembled them as a nation and the new dissembled them, and in this latter condition they were found by the early Illinois explorers.

But they were nevertheless found in considerable numbers in the Illinois valley, which offered exceptional advantages suitable to the new mode of life. The first Europeans to range through this part of the wilderness attest that for the purposes of the Indians this was altogether the most desirable country they saw. Joutel, who had come overland from Texas, says of the Illinois river after leaving the Mississippi: "We found a great alteration in that river, as well with respect to its course, which is very gentle, as to the country about it, which is much more agreeable and beautiful than that about the great river, by reason of the many fine woods and variety of fruit its banks are adorned with. It was a very great comfort to us to find so much ease in going up that river, by reason of its gentle stream, so that we all stayed in the canoe and made much more way."

So that while the occupation of the Illinois valley in the first era of numerous primitive life in Illinois was perhaps very slight, it was heavier in the second than that of any other region in the State. Which is why we find there innumerable mounds of the second period, but nothing approaching the records of the first era found at Cahokia. The age of great communities, with their huge tumuli, had passed.

In its dissembled state the national life became hazardous beyond anything the people at Cahokia had known. The evidences of this are manifold. The indications of death by violence are much more numerous in the Illinois valley than they are in the American bottom. I have seen things on the Illinois which are not only undiscoverable in the Cahokia region, but are peculiar to the small mounds. The work of the war club is everywhere apparent. At Teneriffe, twelve miles above the mouth of the Illinois, we opened at least one large mound in which almost every skeleton bore unmistakable evidence of death in battle. Skulls were crushed as if by a blow. In one instance a long spear had cut through the ribs and lodged under the bones of the chest. In another an arrow was found sticking in one of the vertabræ

of the spine. This interesting relic I took from the mounds with my own hands, and it may be seen today in its original condition in the collection at Monticello Seminary at Godfrey, Ill. In the Hartford Peak mounds, six miles above the mouth of the Illinois, there were about 100 Indians buried. Twenty-five per cent of them, perhaps, had been slain in battle in such a way that the manner of death was easily determinable.

It is a matter of history that the Iroquois, who probably had not ranged so far west until the westward movement of eastern tribes was provoked by the buffalo, frequently ravaged this valley. All the early explorers in the Illinois relate instances of this, and De Tonti even led the Indians of the Illinois in their defense against these invaders. On the Brussels prairie, in Calhoun county, the abundance of primitive war implements on the field and the frequent occurrence of mutilated skeletons in the mounds upon the surrounding hills all tend to show that the Indians had engaged in a terrible battle upon the Illinois river plain. The proof that it was western Indians with whom those of the valley were contending was abundantly furnished by the weapons found with the dead.

In conclusion, just a word as to the origin of the first considerable migration of primitive people into Illinois. Unquestionably their monuments are at Cahokia. And such monuments! The great Cahokia mound is 102 feet high. Its longest axis is 998 feet; the shortest, 721 feet. It covers sixteen acres, two rods and three perches. The great pyramid of Cheops, in Egypt, is 746 feet square. The temple mound of the Aztecs, in Mexico, is 680 feet square. In volume the Cahokia pyramid is the greatest structure of its kind in the world.

The preponderance of evidence teaches us that the people of Cahokia were sun worshippers. Some vestiges of this solar religion remained in the lower Mississippi valley when the explorers came. Knowing the influence which the agricultural and communal life exerted upon the Indians, we must conclude that the great Cahokia mound was a religious temple. What a stimulant to the imagination is here offered! I once spent a beautiful moonlit evening upon this great mound, and so potent were the time and the place to carry me back to its halcyon days, that I fancied I could almost see the undying fire of the ancients burning upon the summit and the surrounding flat teeming with worshipful life. There is so much about Cahokia that is similar to the works of the Aztecs that we cannot escape the conviction that it was from that part of the world that these people came to this, bringing their religion, their priesthood, their corn, their mode of life and their middle order of primitive civilization. But we do not associate in our minds with Cahokia the terrible Aztec sacrifices, nor even believe that the people, in fact, were Aztecs in the historical definition of that name. The American Indians sprang from a common stock of autochthonous life, and the human history of the far southwest seems by every criteria so much older than that of this far northern country that when we look for the trails over which our

SOUTH END OF THE GREAT CAHOKIA MOUND.

people came to Cahokia, we naturally turn our faces toward that wonderful land as the only source, seemingly, from which they could have sprung. That there should have been evolved out of their long absence from the southwest a great deal peculiar to this section is characteristic.

The builders of Cahokia are gone. The fire which burned through the watches of the night is dead, and the four winds have scattered its ashes. But the temple! Their temple is still there—wonderful, hoary, beautiful to see. What shall we do with their temple?

ROUTE OF COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AND HIS ARMY FROM KASKASKIA TO VINCENNES, 1779.*

By F. M. Woolard.

In the summer of 1888 I received from the late Dr. Lyman C. Draper, at that time in charge of the Wisconsin state historical library, a letter, stating that he had learned from a member of the Filson Club, at Louisville, Kentucky, that I entertained views widely differing from those generally accepted concerning the "route" traveled by Colonel George Rogers Clark and his army from Kaskaskia to Vincennes in 1779. He very pertinently inquired my reasons for so thinking, why and how long I had entertained such notions, and several other questions that almost staggered me by the directness of the assault. After recovering to some extent from my embarrassment, I informed him that I had entertained serious doubts concerning Clark's having chosen and traveled by way of the old "Vincennes Trace," at my first reading an account of that expedition, when quite young; and that doubts had grown with increasing strength, the more I thought and learned concerning the subject or became more familiar with it. At the time Doctor Draper made these inquiries, I had not seen a copy of "Bowman's Journal," and was, in consequence, without the light which that work cast upon the subject in question. I stated to him also that it would seem preposterous, and little less than impertinent, for an ordinary individual to call in question the statements which had so long been recognized and followed by the many prominent and able authors who had written upon this subject. Among the first articles which I read upon Clark's conquest of the northwest territory were newspaper sketches by Dr. John M. Peck; and later, Governor Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," both incidentally asserting without comment that Clark's route was over the "Vincennes Trace." As nearly seventy years had elapsed since that wonderful conquest was accomplished before these worthy gentlemen published their accounts of the event, I was strengthened in the belief that they must have easily taken it for granted—and in a matter of course sort of way, without further investigation—that the "Trace," the only recognized highway across the country, had been openly followed by the little army of invaders. Well knowing, and holding both of these worthy gentlemen in the

* The final settlement of the question raised by this paper can be attained only by a thorough sifting of the mass of evidence collected by the late Lyman C. Draper of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

VIEW OF KASKASKIA IN 1895.

Taken from the Southwest Angle of the Fort Across the River.

highest esteem and believing them conscientious in what they had published, I was still forced to the conclusion that, in the absence of direct information on the subject, that they had naturally and easily "assumed" that the "Trace" route had been taken. This conclusion may appear strange, but I feel that this statement is due to their memory under the light now in hand. It may be contended that as Reynolds came to this country when a lad, in 1800, and Dr. Peck about twenty years later, that they must have known some of Clark's soldiers who settled in the vincinity after the war. This is more than probable, but it is not so probable that they ever especially catechised or interrogated these veterans concerning what particular "route" they had taken on their way to Vincennes, when the more striking and master events in that contest would be uppermost in each and every consultation. Their conclusion was natural enough, had there been no good and sufficient reasons for doubting its accuracy. After two-thirds of a century and more than two successive generations have passed away, it may safely be regarded as somewhat late to conclude that the "Trace" had been followed by Clark, because that was the only route regarded as practical by civilians in times of flooded streams. Evidently at the time of such publication the mere question of the "route" had not been seriously considered, or probably discussed, as that was of minor interest among the stirring events of the campaign; and the heroic participants had all answered the last call of the "long roll," ever to be honored as active factors in one of the most momentous events of our country's history.

None were left to speak for themselves, and in a controversy over the route they may have traveled, one assumption may justly weigh as heavily in the balance as an opposing one; leaving circumstances, conditions, probabilities, the leaders, with their make-up and precedents, and such other light as may be gleaned from limited current records to be cast into the scales, to determine, as far as possible, which one of the contentions must probably be correct. While we may lose out in our contentions, from lack of ability to present its facts in proper form, we have not a single doubt concerning its truth. Not until long after means of securing positive evidence had passed, was the world suddenly confronted by what some may regard as an assumption, supported only by assertion, without comment, or traditional standing, so far as now known; over which circumstances, environments, existing conditions and grave probabilities cast, at least, a shadow. The "assumption" has seemingly enthroned itself within its citadel, claiming title by a prolonged, but tolerated possession of the field—the "nine points in law"—where it may hurl defiance at assailants, who must, of necessity, contend at a disadvantage and fight from an open plain. While a flat denial for counter-assumption, at best, may not quite serve to balance the scale, the cloud yet remains. Evidences must be searched out from such meager sources as may be even slightly available, still leaving the cloud hanging over the balances.

Dep sitions must be secured from the make-up, character, habits, talents, sagacity and experiences of participants; and circumstances

and reasonable probabilities must be presented in the case, to assist in dispelling the cloud, and casting light upon the situation. Then the testimony of the marsh lands, "drowned lands," the rivers and minor streams, islands, prairies, trees, deep waters, etc., etc., and a more probable line of march, re-enforced by existing testimony, and reasons for following it; also, reasons for not following the presumed route, must all be brought before the court, and allowed to testify. The broad assumption and assertion that Clark followed the open "Vincennes Trace," on his march to that city, covers but a moment of time, and an inch of space; while the task of any rival contention, is long, tedious, and an unthankful one, though conscientiously made in search of light and truth.

I could not believe that Col. Clark, as we now see, and regard him, would hazard all upon a route where spies, traders, or Indians were liable to be encountered at any moment, and thus, place him at the mercy of a forewarned antagonist who could overwhelm him and all his hopes upon short notice. He had hastily left Kaskaskia, for fear Hamilton would "cut him off," though fortified at that place, and it may be claimed for good reason, that this situation would have been far more desperate, if attacked in an open field, on the "Trace." I am not contending in order to sustain a favorite theory, or carry a point; as I have no such interest in the matter; for I do not believe that Clark traveled on the "Trace," or crossed the Little Wabash, where it is encountered on that line; and this conviction has grown stronger, for years, and still stronger, the more I have sought to investigate the subject. At first my reasons for so thinking, sprang from the situation in which he found himself placed, when preparing, hastily for this expedition. It will be remembered how utterly helpless he was to render assistance to Capt. Helm, at Fort Sackville, being compelled to stand still and wait the recapture of that point by the enemy, while a small force might have successfully held that important position, thus retaining in his own hands the key to the situation. It will assist us in solving the problem, at issue, by considering the environments and adverse circumstances under which the intrepid commander was at that time placed. He is reported to have said, "If I don't take him, he will take me," referring to Gov. Hamilton. The remark is characteristic of the forethought and style of the man. Hamilton had Clark seemingly at his mercy; and no one more fully realized this fact or measured its consequences to their full depth, than did Clark himself. Delay was dangerous in the extreme; absolute secrecy was a necessity, while any chance exposure of his plans would have been fatal. His situation was desperate and he had to act with the greatest alacrity, or all would be lost. Every instinct of his great nature; his well known cunning and obstinacy and above all, the wonderful sagacity of George Rogers Clark, in his prime, would rise up in protest against any proposition to expose himself and his handful of men on the only public highway leading to the point of his greatest solicitude; a route upon which escape from exposure would be almost impossible. The dangers from the "Trace" route were too imminent, and the risk too great for a moment's consideration; especially when a wide open country offered

its hospital shelter, with safe and concealed, but untried ways, where he could lead his gallant band in safety to sure victory. By this course he could have safe and easy communication with his boat and supplies, if necessary. Col. Clark may, with some measure of truth, be charged with rashness; while the audacity of his plans doubtless contributed much to his greatest success in terrifying and nonplussing his enemies; but we fail to find a single instance in his wonderful career where he left open an opportunity for an enemy to secure an advantage over him, or left a single stone unturned that would contribute to the success of his well matured plans. The "Trace" route, in this expedition is not reasonable under the trying circumstances, and would be a travesty upon the well known characteristics and mental methods of this masterful, young commander. His early career upon the arena, was like a blazing meteor, whirling through the darkest sky, illuminating the dim horizon to its outer bounds, bringing hope in an hour of deepest depression, both to the rude cabin of the frontier, with its barred door, and the stately mansion in the older colonies, alike. He was the first in Kentucky to put in operation the plan of fighting the Indian upon his own ground; and he did his work with telling effect. Nor did he follow well known trails in finding his enemies. He did not advertise his coming, but always came when least expected. Through this intense man's daring and sagacity, sustained by the brawn and bone of hardy frontiersmen, who had bitter wrongs to avenge, an empire was added to his country's limits, making possible the other extensions, which make our own Fatherland the greatest, grandest, and best nation upon the face of the earth. Let us not withhold from this truly great man of daring and doing, any measure of credit to which his sagacity and brilliant successes entitle him. His stalwart, manly form has now been at rest for more than four score years, but let us, though late, render full justice to those sterling qualities of both mind and heart, which made him truly great. This truly brave and great man had the courage to express his "fears" of any exposure that would give the enemy an advantage, or notice of his intentions. He did so on the road from Fort Massac, also at Kaskaskia, and on the way to Vincennes, showing fully how closely he clung to his precaution at all times, and in all places where dangers were lurking. While fully competent to plan and act, his good sense prompted him to be ever on the alert, against any possible danger of exposure, or surprise. The very assumption that he had taken such a hazardous course as to expose his army on the "Trace," is little, if anything short of his impeachment as a sagacious military leader, secrecy was always a strong factor in his plans, for, upon that rested his success, and the salvation of his army. Notwithstanding the great confidence of his followers in this strong man, and his skill in war, it is not so certain that they would not have openly protested at any unnecessary course that promised only disaster. He was careful, so far as possible, to inform himself of the condition of the enemy, and in each instance, pounce upon, and crush him, like a lion from his hidden lair.

True, at Vincennes he gave brief notice of his actual presence, deceiving the garrison in regard to his own resources, resorting to his favorite "game of bluff," at which, he is justly entitled to rank as a "past master," and thus compensating for his lack of facilities for the accomplishment of his great purpose.

Even then, he scarcely gave the foe time to recover from their first Arctic chill; and before the frigid perspiration had dried upon their devoted brows, his picked riflemen, from secret coverts, were plugging them through the port-holes.

In giving his consent, and limited assistance to George Rogers Clark in this desperate enterprise, Gov. Patrick Henry rightly judged his man, and was not mistaken. At any period of this justly celebrated campaign, a brief exposure would surely have proved disastrous to the broad purposes of the commander. With his limited force, he must come upon the enemy unexpectedly. He dared not pursue a different course; nor did he! His methods were audacious, but well matured, and this feature in the methods of the commander, re-enforced by the material makeup of his little army, turned the scale in his favor, while the world has not yet ceased to wonder at the long list of consequences.

When at first compelled to call in question the accuracy of the commonly accepted declaration, that Clark had followed the "Vincennes Trace," I had no conception whatever of any other route by which he might have accomplished his purpose. My doubts had not crossed the confines of the encampment at Kaskaskia; and were all centered there. They were confined to the man Clark, his character and sagacity as a commander, his lack of means and facilities, existing conditions, environment, and the very great improbability of his recklessly taking chances on being discovered on the only public highway, the "Trace." I had no knowledge concerning any ground over which he might have traveled, nor, had I any interest in the matter, more than other citizens. I clung tenaciously to the high estimate I had placed upon the man, in preference to the mere statement that he had marched on the "Trace." It simply and stubbornly struck me that he would not, and did not hazard all upon a course where every interest involved would be in great danger, from exposure. While the doubts remained tenaciously with me, of their own accord, they grew stronger, the more I investigated, for many years. I had no means of combating the assumption and assertion that the "Trace" route had been taken on the line of march, excepting those mentioned elsewhere in this article. Being unable, after many years, to get rid of my doubts, even had I so desired, I cast about in quest of any probable course which he might have followed, instead of the "Trace." In his brief statement, Clark had "blazed" or mentioned only one spot on the way, until he encountered the floods of Embarrass river. This place mentioned was the "two Wabashes." No route was entitled to consideration, which fell short of this special mark. Four separate points could claim the distinction upon their individual merits. They were the Muddy, Fox, Elm and Skillet Fork; some of them insignificant, it is true, but all

contributed to the floods of the mother stream, the Little Wabash. And all, were within a proper radius for consideration, for "the distinguished honor." Any one of them could claim to be the "real thing," should circumstances and reasonable probabilities not interpose. In searching for a feasible route, it struck me forcibly, that it could well have answered Clark's purpose, to go about ninety miles eastward, in absolute freedom from danger of discovery, to the intersection of the Skillet Fork with the Little Wabash river, near the location of the present city of Carmi, in White county. Now, Clark was not out for the sole purpose of finding the "two Wabashes," but he did find, and put his mark upon such a place; and in seeing the spot, we must find the mark, and the goods; and the goods must answer to every demand, in a careful measurement. There were the streams, "three miles" apart and the "drowned lands," "five miles" over; all of which answered fairly well the conditions mentioned, excepting the island also mentioned, which I did not find. I can not positively say that the "little bit" does not exist there, however, but it is one of the necessities absolutely required on the line of any claim, for this distinction; and its absence, will, as a missing link, tear asunder the strongest chain. Nor will any "easy mark" be accepted as something "just as good." Later I became practically familiar with about all of the regions over which the army might have passed, including the "Trace" and south of it, with the exception of that portion leading for a few miles northeast of Kaskaskia, which latter cuts no figure in the controversy. It still looked as if the Carmi route might answer as the place where the "two Wabashes" were crossed. It is a little out of the way, but that could have been a satisfactory reason for taking that course. This southern way carried with it the interesting fact that Clark, on that route, could be in easy communication with his boat, her guns and supplies, as he advanced northeastward. It also offered him and his little army better facilities for escape in case of disaster. At the time this southern route was under consideration I had not yet seen a copy of Bowman's Journal. Some of his statements are fairly applicable to this southern way, while the "Trace" route would have almost eliminated his notes as a record upon that line. Still, this southern course would have relieved the army from such dangers of exposure as were liable to have been met with on the open "Trace." Such danger was of vital importance, and cannot be rudely thrust aside without being reckoned with. It is well to bear in mind the fact that in the interior, Clark mentions but one place, viz., the "two Wabashes" and the "little bit" of dry land between them. This "little bit" should be called "Clark's Island," by right of discovery. No one questions the fact that "Fox" river crosses the "Trace" and enters the "Little Wabash" a few miles lower down. The fact that later writers, following the first assumption, should mention Fox river is not essential to this controversy. The Fox was easily mistaken for the Bon Pas, flowing farther south. The trouble lies in the original, erroneous and misleading conclusion that the "Trace" had been at all followed. There is one important feature, to which special attention should be given; for it is pertinent, and will largely assist in

reaching a fair solution of the questions involved in this discussion. It is this: All of the larger and many of the minor southern Illinois streams flow southward. At the time of the conquest the country lying between the Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash rivers was a wide wilderness waste, but little known, excepting a few points along those streams. Where a stream was encountered, for instance, on the "Trace," its outlet was unknown. Should a larger stream be met with farther south and near the same longitude, it was easy and natural to assume, or conclude, or assert, that they were one and the same stream. Hence, this easy confusion of names, when such were mentioned; for it cannot be denied that such confusion did occur, and in one instance where the river mentioned was many miles from the route. While a few of these streams were given names, little or nothing was known concerning them other than where encountered. Such confusion was unavoidable, with such limited knowledge of the interior.

During a considerable correspondence with Doctor Draper concerning the route traveled by Clark on his way to Vincennes, he frequently mentioned the route from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia, always appearing very solicitous for any scraps of information on the subject. I was compelled to inform him that I knew of no reliable data on the subject. Recently I have seen maps, upon which were marked what purported to be the Massac and the Vincennes Traces. Upon what authority this was done, I know not, but am pleased to say that they seem probably as nearly accurate as could be made at this date, with the exception of where Xenia now stands, the Vincennes Trace bore northeastward toward Louisville and Sailor's Springs, in Clay county, in order to head off the high waters; and after crossing the Little Wabash, then bearing southeast to near where the present city of Olney is located. The Trace ought to be located, as far as now possible, for it was the first highway across the State. At doubtful points the commissioners should be allowed to "assume," to the best of their ability; but be required to drive stone pegs in the ground bearing proper dates, that future generations may not mistake the assumptions for realities. So far as I know, I had long stood alone in questioning the reliability of the original "assumption," although such doubts may have occurred to others, for similar or different reasons; and it is encouraging to know that such sentiments are now not uncommon.

In his recently published and truly fascinating "Historic Illinois," I was highly pleased to find in Mr. Randall Parish an author with the courage to openly set at defiance the long existing, but unsupported assumption, which rendered necessary this controversy sooner or later, and boldly and without comment suggest a course that is both reasonable and probable in the main, being fairly well sustained by conditions existing at the time of their occurrence and such records of that period as are now available on the subject. He is certainly close to the mark, whatever his motives may have been. It may be safely said that a careful application of the notes with their corresponding dates of Bowman's Journal will give quite an accurate idea of the real "route" taken on this march to Vincennes, but it will hardly be found along the

"Trace." And this view, I feel assured, will be sustained by a rigid investigation and an accurate knowledge of the territory involved.

After allowing the Carmi or more southern course to stand unmolested for several years, and with doubts unshaken concerning the "Trace" as even a possible route, for reasons already mentioned, upon a close investigation I discovered that a route upon an almost direct line leading from Kaskaskia to Vincennes would intersect Elm river at or very near its junction with the Little Wabash. To my great surprise, upon a more thorough investigation I found this easily met, severally and singly all and every condition mentioned by those engaged in this wonderful campaign. To this statement I challenge the fullest and most searching investigation, feeling well assured concerning the outcome after the very strongest searchlight has been cast upon the scene. The streams in the course pursued are "three miles" apart and also in direct line are the "five miles" of "drowned lands" mentioned by both Clark and Bowman. Shortly after crossing Elm river on the direct line, the "little bit" of dry land mentioned is encountered. It is a sand mound, covering several acres of ground, a small portion of which has never been subject to overflow. The early settlers found Indian graves there; the skeletons couched in a sitting posture, encased by flat stones. I have picked up human teeth, scraps of bones and flint implements there. It has been in cultivation since the early settlements in the vicinity. The place was long known as "Skeleton Island," but is now owned by 'Squire Marvel Hill of Fairfield. Further along the line, but still between the rivers and among the "drowned lands," is met a strip of slightly higher ground, known as "White Oak Ridge," which overflows, but not so deeply as the surrounding valley, and in times of flood is covered by two feet or more of water, answering to the more shallow places mentioned by the commander. Taking everything, pro and con, into consideration, it would be safe to say that if the effulgent rays of the modern camera could be thrust backward through time and space to the 15th of February, 1779, right here and on this line would be found George Rogers Clark and his heroic band of rugged frontiersmen, conquerors, struggling, suffering and enduring untold hardships and privations that the fatherland might be freed from the iron hand of tyrants and oppressors and the bloody scalping knife banished from the borders.

Close to the line crossing the island, on the Barton Crews farm, near where Clark probably first encountered the flood, the bluff is not abrupt; and right there, only a few years since, were the plainly visible remains of a prominent old buffalo trail, leading westward toward Arrington prairie, surely mentioned by Bowman as "Cot plains," where "numbers of buffalo" had been "killed" on the line of march. East of this place, in Edwards county, this trail is fairly marked. Where Clark first encountered this trail, if west of the Skillet Fork, we have no means of ascertaining, although it might add information of value if available, as these trails were often followed by early adventurers. It is not improbable that this course was, to some extent at least, known as a "way" by early French habitués, though un-

marked. At one time the buffalo was accredited as a pioneer road marker on practical lines. The Indian followed the buffalo for food and pelts; the trader followed the Indian for pelts and barter; the pioneer sought the trader in search of a homestead. Then came farms, villages, cities, greater marts and highways of commerce. Instinct lead the buffalo to search out the best grazing lands and reliable water supplies, as well as river crossings. The requirements were abundantly met in the Elm river and Skillet Fork flats. Wild game abounded in the vicinity of the "drowned lands" until a recent period; and until within a few years the flats were extensively utilized by stockmen on account of their rich pasturage. We mention these matters for the purpose of calling attention to this as a "way," not entirely unknown at the time of the Revolutionary war, although impractical in times of overflow. General Harmar, on his way to Kaskaskia, camped on Skillet creek, where his Indian scouts "killed buffalo for him." This was probably on the direct line, as the "Trace" was much farther around. Volney, a noted Frenchman, made the journey to Kaskaskia about 1804, if we are not mistaken, probably on this way, because it was nearer and equally as convenient for a large portion of the year. This course was about twenty miles south of the point where the "Trace" crossed the Little Wabash, as the route had veered several miles to the north at that place, in order to head off the very difficulties which Clark encountered on this journey. The distance by way of the "Trace" was probably a day's journey greater than by the direct course. It is but fair to call attention to another feature which will have a bearing on this discussion, as it will demonstrate the probable difference in magnitude of the difficulties liable to be encountered on either the "Trace" or Shelton's island way. At the crossing of the "Trace" only the waters of the Wabash and Muddy, with their tributaries, are met with; while the direct route had to reckon with the floods of the Wabash, Muddy, Elm river, Fox river, Village creek and their tributaries combined, making possible the widespread and deep wilderness of waters which the army crossed under most trying circumstances. Is it at all probable that only two of the streams on the same day, twenty miles nearer their sources, could have furnished "five miles" of such deep overflow as was here encountered? Let the jury decide!

The Trace route as appears was not reinforced by such floods as here confronted them, and yet, in order to sustain the original "assumption" that the army had followed that course, it is vitally necessary to further "assume" that the overflow on that route was equally as wide spread and deep as described by both Clark and Bowman.

Returning to Kaskaskia, the place of beginning, we will pursue our course as if no digression had been made. Encouraged by further investigations, we felt more than ever assured of the correctness of our contentions that Clark, handicapped as he was, could not, dared not and *did not* expose his army on the "Trace" and thus rashly jeopardize his only hope, his all, when other and surer means were close at hand. The very fact that *George Rogers Clark, that strenuous* and *sagacious* man, was in sole command, should set forever at rest all

doubts concerning the course pursued under such circumstances. The failure of his purposes at that critical moment involved questions of such magnitude as to almost reach beyond the bounds of human conception. Clark, advertising his plans on the "Trace" at that crucial period, would have been a defiance of fate, a repudiation of common prudence and a complete reversal of his well earned reputation as a wise, safe and prudent master commander. The prize at stake, aside from his own record and reputation which he held as priceless, was the blasting of his hopes, the wrongs to his men, the loss of an empire to his struggling country, the return of the scalping knife to the borders and the western boundaries of his country placed at the Alleghanies. Had the plan following the "Trace" even been suggested, it is not conceivable, judging the man by his own record, and his methods by their consequences, that George Rogers Clark would have entertained it for a single moment. Nor did he! For he was a silent man; a thinking man of foresight, who could weigh possibilities and their outcome in the flash of a moment. Nor was the "Trace" so much as even mentioned in connection with this expedition by any of the writers of the period or others authorized to speak. And the very fact of no route being mentioned should give weight to our contention, as evidence that it was their wise purpose to so veil their actions in such secrecy as would enable a forlorn hope to snatch a crowning victory from the grasp of despair. The direct route could not have been named, for it was followed only as a possible "way," a case of dire necessity.

When M. Vigo brought news that the British had recaptured Vincennes, the record says: "Clark called a counsel of his officers, and it was concluded to go and attack Governor Hamilton, for fear, if it was let alone till spring, that he, with all the forces he could bring, would cut us off." Brave and daring as he was, he did not hesitate to express "fears" that the enemy might discover his movements. He had previously expressed "fears" that his approach might be discovered on his way from Massac. It stood him in hand to be ever on the alert and act at once; so much so, indeed, that to have given his antagonist notice, in any manner whatever, of his coming visit, would have been unlike the man. Others, with less forethought, might have taken the open "Trace," but George Rogers Clark—*never!* And the fact that he was in command should have been given due weight in accrediting the "assumption" which exalted the old exposed route to the dignity of a "War Trace" as entirely gratuitous. And to have thoughtlessly presumed that he would entertain such a reckless project would indicate that the host had not been properly reckoned with. Orders were promptly given to dispatch his bateau, bearing forty-six men with cannon and supplies, around by river and up the Big Wabash to a point near the mouth of White river, to await further instructions. From that place communication would have been more difficult with the "Trace" than with a more southern route. Clark, with the remainder of his force, consisting of 170 men, all told, were early on the march. No mention is made of the course they pursued. *They seemed to just get up and go;* probably on the most direct way

by which they could reach the enemy. They pushed their way onward, encountering difficulties that might have been avoided by a better knowledge of the way, but they pressed bravely on. The general course may have been known to some of the habitués of the villages, but nothing more, as the route was impractical in seasons of overflow. But necessity was laid on Colonel Clark, and the work marked out for him could be accomplished only by overcoming such difficulties and obstructions as lay across his pathway. He was equal to the occasion, as nothing short of the impossible could safely challenge the exalted spirit and patriotic fires that burned within the soul of this man. There was too much of the spirit and methods of both Andrew and Stonewall Jackson in his makeup to have halted at anything short of the inevitable. Time was precious and movements must be concealed, as the issue depended upon such secrecy as would enable him to strike hard the foe and crush him before relief could be secured.

The dangers from exposure on the "Trace" were too apparent to have been regarded with favor. He must have entertained other plans from the first. Nor have we a "record" of its adoption by Clark as the "route" until long after the actors in the stirring scenes had all passed away. Then it was, so far as known, that the "Trace" was first cast upon the world as the course over which heroes had marched to victory and renown. There were none to dispute it. Authors, as well as scientists, are sometimes required to cast light upon dark places, even if personal ingenuity has to be drawn upon for supplies. But new and stronger lights are required to reveal the holdings of dark caverns. The learned men of the world long taught, and pretended to believe, that the earth rested upon the back of a huge turtle. When coal was discovered in England, a learned chemist declared that it would be the last thing to burn when the world should be destroyed by fire. There are people now living who can remember when a cooling drink of water was regarded as almost surely fatal to a patient suffering from a burning fever. "Assumption" and theories were ever rampant, and will be. Their advocates died hard, when driven to the wall; but, all the same, they died.

We have an "assumption" on our hands at present that will not release its hold as easily as it was at first conceived. None would be more highly pleased than myself, could unquestionable evidence concerning the route traveled by Clark across Illinois be furnished. Until that is done, the man, Clark, alone—were there no other reasons—would be sufficient to cause us to cling to our doubts concerning the "Trace" route. Nor have we any disposition to censure the worthy gentlemen who cast this "assumption" upon the world. Some of them personally we have long held in very high esteem. The world has known few better men, and we are very far from wishing to cast a reflection upon their motives; nor would we willingly pluck a single leaf from their many well merited laurels. With us, it is a matter of pride to remember that we once knew them and were known by them. Had they failed to mention a line of march, the reading public would have criticized and complained. These men were under the necessity of filling a gap; a missing link, overshadowed by great events, of which it was but a minor part.

In casting about for a solution of the question, it appeared natural and easy to "conclude" that the army had marched along the "Trace," at that time the only recognized highway to Vincennes. Hence, the "assumption," followed by the statement. It was generally accepted, but not entirely satisfactory to all. Had the existence of Bowman's Journal been known, and comparisons made from the light which it sheds, the verdict might have been different.

The first conclusion had evidently been reached in a "matter of course" sort of manner. It is very far from being a pleasant task to call in question a statement which has so long slumbered as an accepted record; but so firmly founded have our doubts concerning its accuracy remained, from the time of our first reading of Clark's conquest and reinforced by subsequent investigations, that we now, in our commonplace way, consent to mention our conclusions, trusting that competent hands will press the subject to a finish. In his journal, Captain Bowman says, "About 3:00 o'clock we crossed the Kaskaskia with our baggage and marched a league from town," where they camped for the night. Nor, does he, or others, mention a "route" by which they were to travel? As Clark was discreet in all his movements, there are ample reasons for believing that in the very outset they had started on an unmarked but direct "way" toward Vincennes, using all possible precautions for concealing their intentions from the enemy. No intimation is given in regard to the course they pursued, unless the brief "notes" of Bowman can be made applicable, by comparing them with physical conditions as they exist across the State at the present time. With the exception of former marshes and ponds, which have disappeared, through drainage and cultivation, the surface of the country remains as it was at that time. Bowman further says, "They crossed the river at the 'Petit Fork,' upon trees that were felled for that purpose." They were supplied with axes for emergencies, as witnessed later on. Now, "Petit" river answers to "Little Muddy" river, which crosses the direct line to Vincennes, but will hardly lead far enough north to reach the "Trace." This fact is significant, as it was encountered about the right time. Bowman (now our guide) says that "on the eleventh of February they crossed 'Saline river.'" Now, Saline river is confined almost exclusively to Gallatin and Saline counties, in the extreme southeastern portion of the State; and, even should our contention for a southern route be admitted, the army was at no time scarcely within thirty miles of that stream. But this early mistake in names was not more easily made than other similar ones, which were clearly the result of a misunderstanding in regard to the names of streams encountered. The error is excusable, as the existence of "Saline," a river of fair proportions, had long been know to flow into the Ohio from a northern direction, and in this longitude such streams were easily mistaken for other streams, flowing from farther north, and finding an outlet in larger south-flowing streams, where their identity was lost. As little was at that time known of the interior of southern Illinois this confusion of names is not a cause for wonder. Instead of Saline river as supposed, the army had

actually crossed the Skillet Fork river, the largest tributary of the Little Wabash, and fully twenty miles in a southwesterly direction from where the line of march would make the famous crossing of the latter stream.

The conditions mentioned by Bowman in this vicinity are fully met, but could hardly under ordinary circumstances have applied to the "Trace" route, for they scarcely exist on that line.

The "Cot plains," as mentioned by Bowman at this point, where they "saw and killed numbers of buffalo," could have been none other than Arrington prairie, in Wayne county; level and wet in an early day, and a noted resort for these wild cattle, being adjacent to the river valleys affording the best winter pasturage in southern Illinois. I will digress here to state that many years ago, when investigating this buffalo trail, several old pioneers who came to the country in childhood, informed me that they remembered well, seeing bones in considerable numbers scattered along this trail, leading from the vicinity of Shelton's island westward. Among them was William Borah (father of the new Senator from Idaho), a very bright man, now nearly 90 years of age, and still living near Shelton's island. Arrington prairie—as called by Bowman, "Cot plains"—answers well all conditions mentioned on this hard day's march, which occurred the 12th of February, traveling until late in the night. He also says, "Now twenty-one miles to St. Vincent." (It was fully three times as far.) We shall speak of this natural mistake later on. "13th. Arrived early at the 'two Wabashes;' although a league asunder, they now made but one." "14th. Finished the canoe and put her into the river about 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon." "15th. Ferried across the 'two Wabashes,' it being five miles in water to the opposite hills, where we camped." "Orders not to fire any guns for the future, but in case of necessity." Here Bowman and Clark agree in their estimates, that on their line of travel the rivers are "three miles" apart, and the "drowned lands" "five miles across," and their estimates are remarkably accurate.

At this point, between the river channels, Clark mentions the island, of which "about one hundred yards" was not overflowed. This, Shelton's island, furnishes a strong land mark in favor of our contention, that may not easily be found elsewhere, unless in much larger proportions. Here the western branch of "the two Wabashes" was early on the maps as "Elm river." From its banks in an early day, flatboats loaded with produce were frequently floated to New Orleans; and later, rafts of logs were floated to markets. We can rest assured that nothing is lacking at this point to fulfill absolutely all demands, from the meagre statements of both Clark and Bowman; and furthermore, it is practically on a direct line from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. On the "15th crossed the streams," and on the "16th," Bowman says, "crossed the Fox river," which was an easily arrived at conclusion, but none the less an error, as we shall demonstrate. Owing to the general absence of accurate information concerning the interior region and streams at that period, it was not generally known that Fox river easily falls into the Little Wabash, several miles

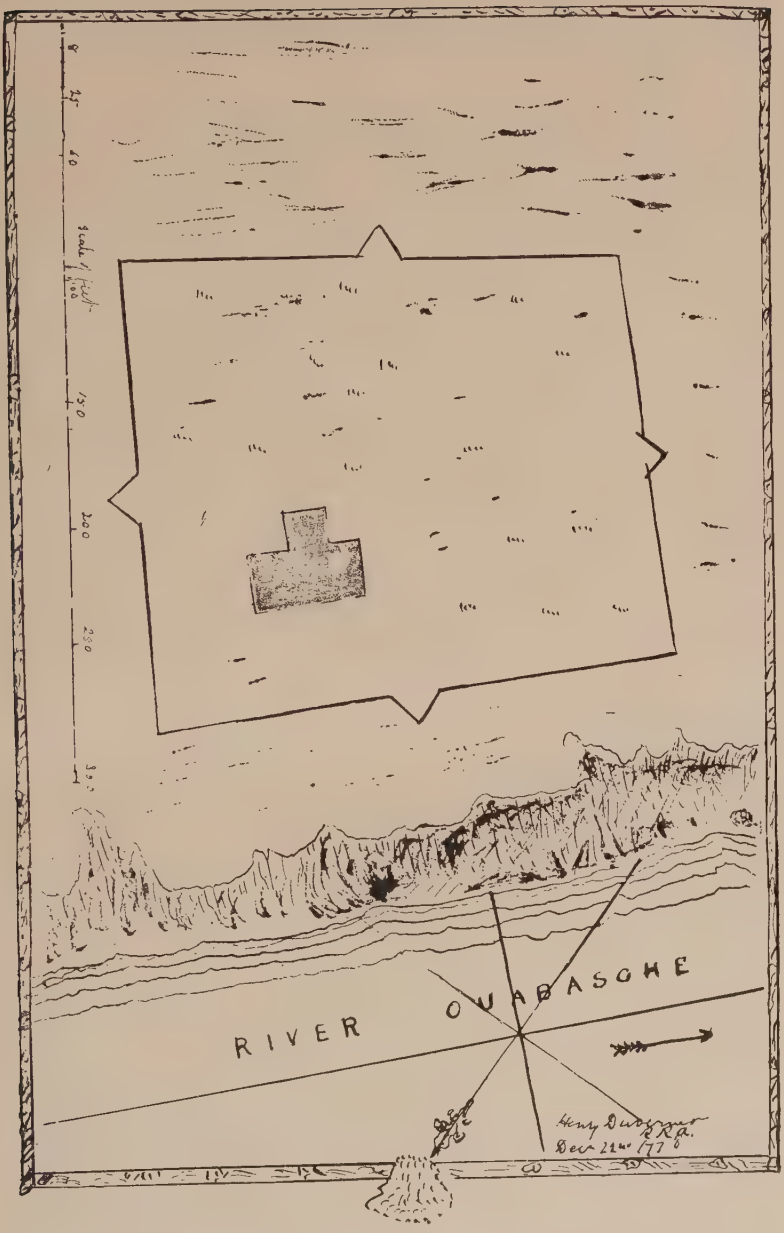
above Shelton's island, and contributed its full measure in swelling the floods at the line of crossing actually encountered by the army. Bowman's information was at fault, as on this journey he could not have known the names of streams and places until informed by others. His informants were evidently unaware that the Bon Pas, when encountered, was not a continuation of the Fox river, flowing in the same direction from farther north. The army unquestionably crossed the Bon Pas, instead of the Fox, supposing it to be the same stream. No one was to be blamed for such conclusions, under the circumstances, although they may have been misleading in a matter that is of at least some importance in perfecting our historical records. But the fact should not be lost sight of that more than two-thirds of a century had elapsed after the conquest before Governor Reynolds published his history containing the statement. True, the "assumption" has generally been followed, and to that extent tacitly endorsed by many of the very worthy and able authors who have written on the subject. This course was excusable, taking into consideration the fact that the accuracy of the assumption had never been called in question. But other instances of errors in history, which had been honestly accepted and followed by competent writers for a much longer period, are not wanting. It will be remembered that our standard authorities until quite recently antedated the first permanent settlement at Kaskaskia to the extent of eighteen years. Nor was any one seriously to be blamed for such a mistake. The error, as in the present instance, was quite a natural inference, followed by very probable assumption, and then its assertion.

At our first reading of an account of Clark's campaign, we were greatly puzzled to know why he crossed the river at Kaskaskia in order to capture Fort Gage, when the fort was on the side from which he had just crossed. Not having been present on that auspicious occasion, and still unable to secure a satisfactory explanation, we gave it up as inexplicable and all of the dutiful swallowing of the incident we may have been guilty of *was done with very considerable mental reservation.* There are instances where errors have unwittingly crept into records and were readily followed by writers of ability, who, after such mistakes had been discovered and corrected, wondered why they should have overlooked them. Such corrections have been accepted upon their merits; while in the case before us the original "assumption" *per se* has remain unchallenged, with the probabilities of its inaccuracy almost overwhelming, for various reasons and from different standpoints. Nor can I find a single good reason for believing that George Rogers Clark advertised his purpose by openly exposing his little army on the "Vincennes Trace." He was not constructed that way. That intrepid, sagacious and intense man was in sole command, and with the courage of his fixed convictions. Nor did he have to vindicate his own actions. One has wisely said: "He was not more brave than many other men, but he thought beyond them all." It has long been our contention that Clark and his army, rejecting the well known "Trace" route as utterly impracticable on account of its publicity, on his journey from Kaskaskia to Vincennes, in Feb-

ruary, 1779, marched as nearly on a direct line as possible; haste, and especially the secrets of his movements, controlling his actions as chief factors. He was a surveyor by profession, and it is highly probable that he carried a pocket compass as a safe guard against confusion in times of cloudy weather. In attempting to suggest a probable line of march over which he may have passed, the task is rendered more difficult and confusing owing to the inaccuracy of such maps as are now in general use. We sometimes find a discrepancy of several miles in the location of towns or places of interest, by lines drawn across different maps from the same points. All that we can now do is to give an approximate estimate in naming points now on or near the probable course pursued. We regard it as not improbable that they traveled on or near a noted buffalo trail, at least from the Skillet Fork to the Bon Pas region, or even farther.

The army left Kaskaskia on the afternoon of February 7, crossing the river, and at a distance of one league made their first encampment. They probably passed near Bremen, Steelville and Percy, entering Perry county in the vicinity of Kampenville; passed Cutler, Barwells, Conant and a little north of Pinckneyville; crossed the Beaucoup river; thence, slightly north of Tamaroa, entered Jefferson county about seven miles north of its southwest corner, passing Waltonville, and on the *10th* crossed "Petit Fork" upon footlogs, "that were felled for that purpose," and camped near the river. They were now south of Mt. Vernon. In point of time and distance, this would answer to the "Little," or, another branch of the Muddy, taken for that stream. *On the 11th*, they entered Wayne county, seven or eight miles north of its southwest corner, passed near Keene's toward Wayne City, south of the point where they crossed the Skillet Fork of the Little Wabash (the former having been mistaken for "Saline" river.) *On the 12th*, they passed over Arrington prairie, (which Capt. Bowman had been led to call "Cot Plains,") marching on between Jeffersonville and Fairfield, and south of Martin's creek; *on the 13th*, arrived early at the "two Wabashes," on a line a little north of the junction of Elm river with the Little Wabash; *on the 14th*, the men were engaged in making a canoe and other preparations for crossing. *On the 15th*, they crossed the wide and deep expanse of waters encountered there; "it being then five miles in water to the opposite hills where we encamped." They were now in Edwards county, at, or near the point where the base line crosses the Little Wabash. *On the 16th*, they passed near West Salem, then, crossed the Bon Pas river, (which had been mistaken for "Fox" river.) *17th*, "Marched early and crossed several runs, very deep," which answers to the tributaries of the Bon Pas on that line.

They entered Lawrence county at its southwest corner, and, "about an hour by sun, we got near the river Embarass;" and following down, west of that stream, after many hardships and privations; *on the 21st*, still concealed from the enemy, they crossed the Big Wabash near St. Francisville. In 1889, Judge C. S. Conger of Carmi, told me that he had recently learned from Mr. Bowman, an aged and prominent citizen of Albion, that one of Clark's men by the name of Truelock was a



Plan of Fort Sackville
AT VINCENNES.

very early settler at old Timberville, on the Big Wabash, in Wabash county; that he was a regular huntsman by profession, and that he had often mentioned the vicinity where West Salem, in Edwards county now stands, as on the route over which he had marched with Clark's army to Vincennes, at the time of its capture. I called on Mr. Bowman shortly afterward, and he substantiated all that Judge Conger had told me; stating farther, that his information was directly from a Mr. Elisha Chism, a very old man, either a grandson or son-in-law of Mr. Truelock, who knew him well and often hunted with him on these expeditions to the Little Wabash in quest of large game; that the old soldier loved to dwell upon the scenes of that campaign, and would point out localities over which the army had marched. He also stated, that to the end of his life, the mention of his commander's name would arouse in the old warrior the greatest enthusiasm. It should not be forgotten that the woods to a practical hunter, became as familiar as the page of an open book to a scholar. There was no controversy at stake, and while I had long entertained my present views, this incident only confirmed them. I believed the statement when I first learned it; and I believe it still. I do not think the veracity of those who informed me will be questioned.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GENERAL JOHN EDGAR.

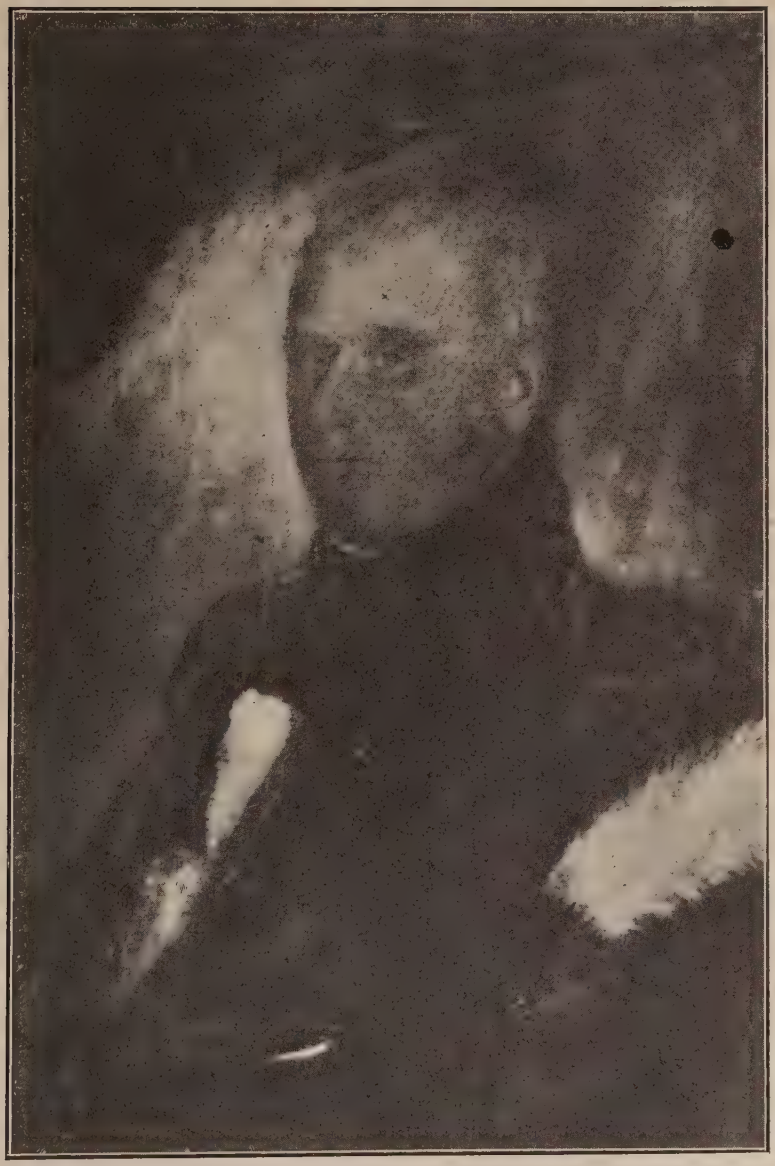
By James H. Roberts.

It is my pleasing duty on this occasion to endeavor to contribute something towards rescuing from oblivion the memory of one who in his day rendered conspicuous service to his adopted country. It has been truly said: "Time has waged a fearful warfare on the memorials of the days that tried men's souls. They lie scattered throughout the country, and it seems a sacred duty, if possible, to gather and preserve the priceless fragments. The men who laid the foundation of our republic still live in the hearts of their countrymen, but many whose merits deserved a monument scarce found a tomb." These observations apply peculiarly to General Edgar, for had it not been for an accidental circumstance, hereinafter mentioned, it is altogether probable that the facts touching his career would have remained concealed in the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society and have slumbered there in the sleep that knows no waking.

The Romans had a maxim—"*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*"—"Of the dead say nothing but good." While this is a very charitable sentiment, worthy Christians as well as Pagans, it may not be the rule which should govern the biographer who writes for posterity and desires to transmit the true likeness of his subject. While I very freely admit that Edgar was not exempt from the infirmities and frailties common to all men in public station, I can and do justly claim for him what history shows him to have been—a man, of high moral character, true patriotism and inflexible devotion to duty.

In reviewing his long and varied career I find that a committee appointed by Congress to examine and report on the validity of claims to lands in the territories of Indiana and Illinois, question some of the Edgar purchases, but a committee of the Senate, of which Mr. Burnet of Cincinnati was the chairman, in examining this report, and the evidence on which it was based, exonerated him from all blame, and his purchases were confirmed by Congress. Authentic contemporary documents show conclusively that in all his vast transactions in land he acted with strict integrity.

A native of Belfast, Ireland, born a British subject, he early in the great drama of the American Revolution renounced his allegiance to his sovereign, George III, enlisted in the cause of the colonies and fought for their independence.



GEN. JOHN EDGAR.

From an Oil Portrait owned by the Chicago Historical Society.

Before going into the history of Edgar and his times I think it not inappropriate to state how it happens that this duty has devolved on me—a mere dry lawyer, rather than on someone distinguished in letters, more competent to the task, for, in view of Edgar's high character and great services to his adopted country, it is a matter of just surprise that no one of the writers of the history of the northwest and its eminent men has ever undertaken to write his life. We have simply the meagre sketch of him found in Governor Reynolds' "Life and Times," which, though mainly correct, is very general and does not do justice to his memory. Your intelligent and most diligent secretary, in traversing the field so abounding in men of prominence in the history of the northwest, with clear vision singled out this neglected man and decided that he was eminently worthy to, and should fill a niche in this temple of the historic muse, and knowing that I was a native of the ancient village of Kaskaskia, which was the theatre of Edgar's labors in his later years, was so partial as to invite me several years since to prepare this paper, and I must say, for the last three years, in concert with your former president and present honored trustee, the Honorable George N. Black, has pursued me with a persistence which would take no denial.

Although familiar with his name and person, and the traditions of him in my family, I did not known a great deal about him beyond what is found in Governor Reynold's book, and I said to your secretary and Mr. Black that this society and the public would derive little pleasure or profit in hearing me thrash over the old straw of the Governor.

In acknowledgment of this gracious invitation, and understanding that Edgar was a Scotch-Irishman, and once in the naval service of Great Britain, I naturally turned my attention to British sources to learn of his antecedents.

Having a slight acquaintance with our Ambassador to the Court of St. James, I applied to Mr. Reid to put me in the way of searching for Edgar in the British achives. He very kindly did so, and said that our Government, having many applications similar to mine, had employed a Mr. Stevens to examine the archives of Great Britain, France and Spain with a view to procure what they contained touching the early history and settlement of our country, and these were published in some twenty volumes and were probably in our libraries. On examining them, to my surprise and disappointment, I found no mention of Edgar. I then turned to the Canadian archives, introduced there by your secretary, but without avail.

Then it was suggested that I make application directly to the Naval Office of Great Britain, which I did, and I learned there that his name could not be found on the registers from 1712 to 1779. I then concluded that John Edgar, Naval Captain in the British service, was a myth. I applied to our secretary without success and suspecting that search had been but partial and learning that he had served in some capacity in our navy, it was suggested that I write Captain Mahan. My letter followed him to Madrid, Spain. He politely answered me that he did not think that Edgar was ever a captain in our navy. Not

despairing, however, I decided I would pursue him through the Historical Societies of the several states, where information would likely be found, but received none. I had the records of marriages and deaths in the parishes of Kaskaskia and St. Genevieve examined, in order to ascertain the respective ages and dates of death of himself and wife, but Edgar's name only appeared as a witness to marriages, but as they were Protestants, these records made no mention of them except as above. As two generations had passed since his death, I could find no old inhabitants living in whose families lingered traditions of him.

By the courtesy of the various persons in the several libraries of Chicago, their books have been ransacked in vain, no whisper of Edgar, save from our Illinois historians, Stuvé, Moses and Bateman, and they simply repeat Governor Reynolds. I presume I have written upwards of fifty letters to different persons and societies, and have found nothing satisfactory; but some months since I was casually reading a sketch of the life of Simon Kenton, and it then occured to me that Mr. Lyman C. Draper, the eminent secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, had written me several years since that he was writing the life of Simon Kenton, and had learned that I was in possession of a portrait of Mrs. General Edgar; that she had befriended Kenton once when in prison, and he desired a photograph from that portrait, as he designed putting her picture in his book. Reflecting on this letter I knew that Kenton had been captured by the Indians, repeatedly compelled to run the cruel gauntlet, and, almost miraculously surviving it, had been delivered by his captors to their British allies at Detroit, and as Edgar, after resigning from the British service, had gone to Detroit and was involved in the escape of American prisoners, Mr. Draper might have some knowledge of the early history of the Edgars. I, therefore, corresponded with Dr. Thwaites, the distinguished historian and present secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and learned that Draper had recently died, and had not published his life of Kenton, but left his vast collection of manuscripts to that society, and inviting me to come up and examine them, kindly offering all assistance in his power. After the lapse of some time, and finding it inconvenient to go to Madison, I recently had the Kenton manuscripts examined, which to my surprise and gratification gave an authentic acount of Edgar's arrest, imprisonment, the confiscation of his property and his subsequent escape to the colonies.

The material facts in this connection are contained in an affidavit made by him at Albany on the 19th of December, 1781, for the use of Governor George Clinton of New York and the Congress of the Colonies. This paper is so interesting, disclosing a treasonable conspiracy of great moment to the colonies that I give it in full:

He states "that he commanded a vessel belonging to the King of Great Britain on Lakes Huron and Erie from some time in the year 1772 to some time in the year 1775; that he then gave up the said command and went into trade; that on the 24th day of August, 1779, he was taken into custody at Detroit by one Major Lernoult of the

Eighth, or King's regiment, charging him with corresponding with Americans and counseling the savages, etc., that he was put in prison and irons and in two days sent off in irons for Niagara, where he continued in irons for nine months, and in prison for eleven; that he was then sent on to Buck's Island, where he was continued in confinement for nine months; that he was removed to Montreal, where he was confined for six months, at the end of which time, after repeated applications, he was by General McClean granted the liberty of the town; that on the 30th of September, 1781, he was sent for by one Thomas Johnston, who had before been taken by the British from the lower Coos; that on his calling on the said Johnston he told him that he was privy to his (Edgar's) design of making his escape, and he was desirious of sending some important intelligence to General Bailey, and on his (Edgar's) engaging to deliver any message, said Johnston informed him that he had not been confined since he had been brought there; that he was one of the persons on the part of the State of Vermont, as he called it, who had been in treaty with the British touching an agreement to deliver up that country in the hands of the British; that they had completed the agreement and desired him to inform General Bailey of it, and desired to get some one to be exchanged for him on his arrival, which he expected soon to do, on his parole, and then he would make known the whole affair; that he (Edgar) understood that the two Fays and Ira Allen were, with others, agents for that tract of country called by them the state of Vermont, and that one Captain Sherwood and one Dr. Smith who formerly lived in Albany were two of the agents on the part of the British; that said agents sometimes met in Castletown, in the Grants, and sometimes in Canada; that he (Edgar) also understood that part of the agreement between the British and the people calling themselves the people of the state of Vermont was, that they were to raise two or three thousand men for the British, who were to be officered by the people of the country, and these men were to be fed, paid, clothed and otherwise supported by the British, and that Britain was to furnish and maintain a twenty-gun ship, which was to be kept for them upon the lake; that since his escape from Canada at the lower Coos he saw said Johnston at his own house there, who had been permitted to go on his parole, but was not then exchanged; that on his (Edgar's) coming to Coos he went thence east to Newburyport, and to avoid coming down through the Grants lest he should be taken up and sent back to Canada."

I will recur to the matters contained in this affidavit hereafter, but, from it and other documents, it appears that Edgar was in sympathy with the cause of the Colonies, and with the Earl of Chatham, Edmund Burke and others in the British Parliament, and indeed with the great mass of the people, condemned the course of the Government in its war upon their countrymen in America, and it further appears that Edgar's sympathies went so far as to lead him to aid the escape of American prisoners at Detroit, where he was then residing.

It has been well said by one of his countrymen, that an Irishman is

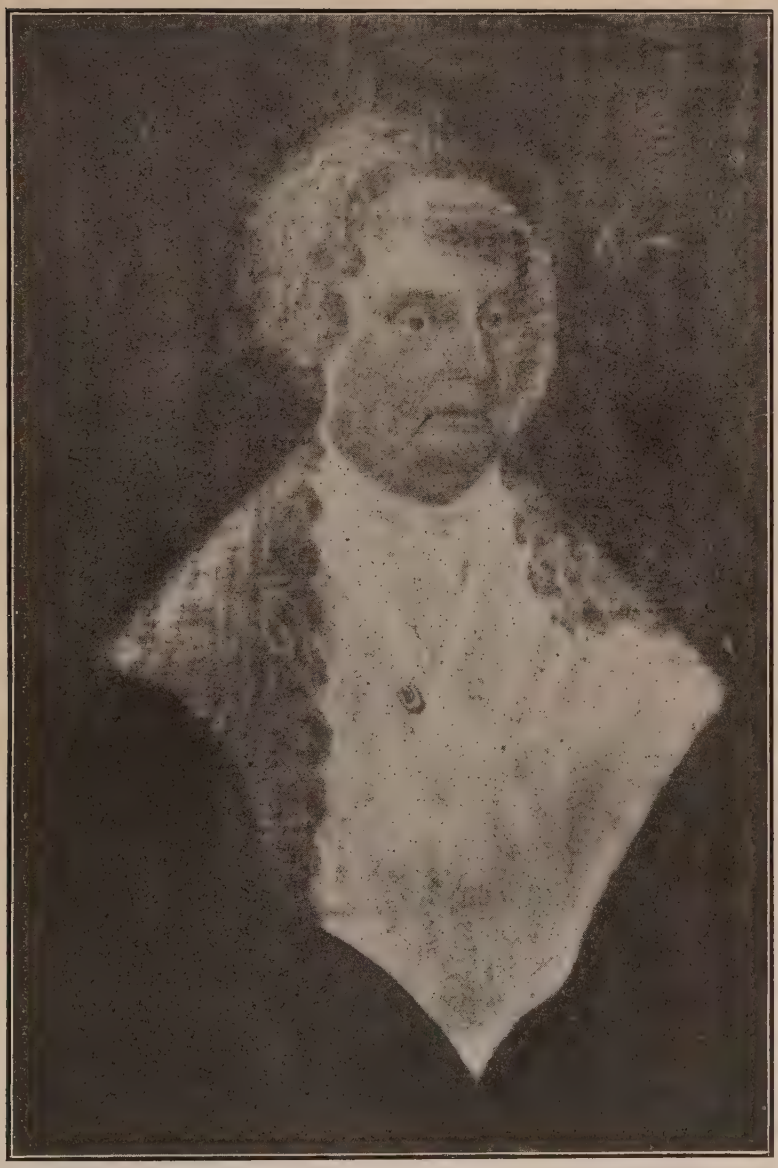
always on one side or the other of every question of moment affecting him, and perhaps as often on the wrong side as the right, but *he is never on the fence.*

From the fact that Mr. Draper, in his letter to me, said that Mrs. Edgar had befriended Simon Kenton while in prison, he is doubtless one of those she assisted to escape, and in passing may I not pay a brief tribute to this famous frontiersman and Indian fighter, Simon Kenton, the friend and companion of Daniel Boone in his wanderings through the then savage wilderness of Virginia and Kentucky, an associate and trusted adviser of General George Rogers Clark in his daring and bold capture from the British of the posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, thus giving this northwestern country to the United States. Clark was one of those august characters who found empires and write their names indellible on the scroll of history, who in majestic appearance is said to have strikingly resembled the "father of his country."

A perusal of the materials collected by Mr. Draper disclosed that he had found this affidavit of Edgar's in "Almon's Rembrancer," a book published in London in 1782 also that he had examined Lavasseur's Life of LaFayette, Burnet's History and other works containing mention of the Edgars, and he had also procured a letter written him by Mr. George O. Tiffany of Milwaukee, giving his aged mother's recollections of Mrs. General Edgar, a paper so interesting, I shall not omit giving it entire.

Starting with the facts set forth in these Draper collections with the assistance of the Secretary of State of New York, its librarian and archivist, and the indefatigable labors of the ladies, especially Mrs. Taylor, and other officials connected with the Newberry Library, that of the Chicago Historical Society and the Chicago Public Library, all of whom have manifested an interest and enthusiasm in the work which I must not omit to mention, I have been able to construct a life of Edgar which, though by no means complete, or doing him justice, is authentic and may enable some future biographer to fill up the intervals. I refer more particularly to his life in the British service and while commanding an American man-of-war, of which I have obtained but little information.

I now recur to the letter of Mr. Tiffany, giving the recollections of his mother, then living in Milwaukee: She says, "the first Mrs. Edgar was a native of Ireland, and came over when a child and lived in Boston, where she married the General; she was a widow and the mother of four children, none of whom were living when she married General Edgar. The date of the marriage is unknown to us. She died in Kaskaskia in 1822, aged eighty-six. Mrs. Edgar told my mother that Mr. Edgar was three years older than she, but the General when married the second time said Mrs. Edgar was older than he. She was a small woman, blue eyes, fair complexion, quite dressy, and wore much jewelry. She was very humane and benevolent, remarkably intelligent and interesting in conversation, and was at some period of her life an inmate of General Washington's family, and very intimate with Mrs. Washington. She was a very pious lady, and beloved by all who knew her."



MADAM RACHEL EDGAR,

First Wife of Gen. John Edgar, from an Oil Portrait owned by the Chicago Historical Society.

Mr. Tiffany adds at the end of his letter that "all this can be strictly relied upon."

You observe from this relation by Mrs. Tiffany that Mrs. Edgar was said at one time, not only to have been a member of General Washington's family, but very intimate with Lady Washington as she was then called. This must have been after Edgar's escape from imprisonment and while in the service of the colonies, and it proves in what esteem Edgar's services in respect to the conspiracy concerning Vermont were held by the Commander in Chief, as well that by intelligence and refinement Mrs. Edgar was admitted to social relations with his family and became a member of it. I am able to give slight corroborative evidence of this fact, for there came from the Edgars into the possession of my family a gold watch called and known by the older members as the "Lady Washington watch."

The information furnished by Edgar of the conspiracy respecting Vermont was by him first disclosed to Justices Yates and Morris at Albany, and by them to Governor George Clinton, who deemed it of such grave moment that he personally interviewed Edgar on the subject. He was so impressed, as he says, by the intelligence, sincerity and bearing of Edgar, corroborated, as was his story, by that of a fellow prisoner, that he at once called an extra session of the Legislature to take measures to save this large and important portion of the country to the colonies, transmitting the affidavit of Edgar, recommending a personal interview with him, as he could disclose many important facts not contained in his affidavit, and advising that the names of the conspirators be for the present withheld from the public. These names I obtained from the recently published Clinton papers, as they were blank in "Almon's Remembrancer." He also sent Edgar with a letter to the delegates in Congress from New York, that the Congress then sitting in Philadelphia might hear his relation of the facts, and they and the Commander in Chief devise measures to defeat the conspiracy.

In considering the proximity of the New Hampshire Grants to Canada and the Mohawk region then under the influence of Sir William Johnson, Chief of the Six Nations, an active and powerful enemy of the colonies and ally of the British, the great importance of holding the region to the American Colonies although it swarmed with active Tories, made it of the last importance without delay to arrest the impending disaster. Those measures were promptly put in motion by the Congress and the Commander in Chief and proved successful. Consider for a moment Vermont allied to the British, Maine and New Hampshire would have inevitably gone with it and now be an integral portion of the Dominion of Canada.

The arrest and imprisonment of Edgar seemed a providential occurrence in behalf of the Colonies, as it resulted in his becoming the instrument in revealing this conspiracy to betray Vermont to the common enemy, and of saving it to the Colonies. The Congress of the United States so regarded it, and by solemn Act passed on the seventh of April, 1798, voted him 2,240 acres of land, saying therein, "that the grant was made in part consideration of his losses which were great and his services which were still greater."

I may not consume the valuable time of the society by reading the various documents from the archives of New York relating to this business, but, with others which are of interest to the elucidation of the history of this enterprise and Edgar's connection with it, I will deposit in the archives of the society for the use of some future historian.

When Edgar had concluded with the public authorities the business in question he enlisted in the naval service of the American Colonies and was given command of a man-of-war with the grade of acting captain.

Time has not been afforded me since discovering the Draper manuscripts to follow his career in this relation, but it may be confidently affirmed that his services were valuable, and so regarded, for Congress in recognition of them, passed a special Act in his behalf, giving him the pay of a captain in the navy for life.

Previous to his arrest in Detroit, Edgar had in trade acquired a handsome fortune, which as has been observed, was confiscated by the British authorities, but his wife, who was a person of great force of character, remained there, and after successfully eluding the British authorities, brought away a large sum, said to have been twelve thousand dollars, which had escaped confiscation, with which and other accumulations they came in 1784 to Kaskaskia, where they resided during the remainder of their lives. Here Edgar built, as Governor Reynolds says, the finest mansion in the territory. It was indeed but a house of one story in height, with dormer windows and porches extending about it, according to the custom of the times, following the style of French architecture that obtained in Canada and the mother country. I have a very distinct recollection of it, having become familiar with it in my boyhood and seen it afterward in 1842, and again in 1854, at which latter date it was in good state of preservation.

On coming to the territory, Edgar at once engaged in trade, and became the leading and most enterprising merchant in the territory and state, keeping on hand large stocks of goods, suitable not only to the local trade, but trade with the vast tribes of the Indians of the Louisiana Purchase west of the Mississippi, selling to St. Louis traders and those dealing in the furs of the Rocky Mountains and the wool of New Mexico. He built flour and grist mills, shipping the product not needed in the local market to New Orleans and other distant points; also engaged in the manufacture of salt, supplying the country far and near with that article of prime necessity. The American State papers contain grants and confirmations of the many purchases of land made by him in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, amounting to tens of thousands of acres. He became not only the largest private land owner, but the wealthiest man in the Northwestern territory.

These facts not only indicate his breadth of character, but his sagacity and skill in the management of his large concerns. The estimation in which he was held by his fellow citizens is illustrated by the fact that when the territory of the Northwest was organized by Governor St. Clair, Edgar was elected, from the county of Randolph, a member of the first Legislature, which assembled at Cincinnati, February 4, 1799. Burnet, a member of the United States Senate from

Ohio, in his most entertaining and instructive history, says: "The people in almost every instance selected the strongest and best men in their respective counties." He also says that "Edgar being in Canada when the American Revolution commenced, and being in principle a warm and devoted Whig, embraced the cause of the colonies and cast his lot with them."

He was also elected Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, or Quarter Sessions, and continued in that relation upwards of twenty-five years, commanding the highest respect, and, though not a lawyer by education, his high sense of justice, scholarly attainments and strong common sense enabled him to do substantial justice between litigants, and his judgments gave general satisfaction. I have examined some of his official papers in possession of the Chicago Historical Society, and they indicate that he had mastered the forms of procedure according to the course of the common law.

His experience and acquirements in naval affairs caused him to be appointed by the United States, Major General of the Illinois Territorial Militia.

He was in person tall and portly and conducted the military reviews with much dignity of deportment.

Governor Reynolds, who personally knew him well, says: "He was a man of liberal education, and came to the country wealthy, and shared it with the people with unbounded hospitality. He possessed in an eminent degree the kind and benevolent heart of an Irish gentleman. In his house the traveler and stranger found a hearty welcome. Hospitality was the custom of the country, but he improved on it. With all his wealth and influence, he was kind and benevolent to the poor."

Among the honors bestowed on him by his adopted state, was the naming of a county for him, which is now one of the richest and most flourishing in the State.

Having brought before you a true pen picture, as I believe, of General Edgar and his first wife, Madam Rachel, I must say a word of him after her death in the month of July, 1822, and I premise by observing that among the early American settlers of Kaskaskia was William Stevens, who with his family came there from Norfolk, Virginia.

A suitable time after the death of his wife having elapsed, the General became a suitor for the hand of Mr. Steven's oldest daughter, Martha Eliza, then about fifteen years of age. The parents regarded it as a very eligible match, the General being a man of large wealth and great distinction, so she was affianced to him. At this time the bride was well grown, tall, slender and graceful, full of vivacity, and a leader in all the romps of the young people of Kaskaskia, but, after her marriage, sober, discreet and matronly. For about seven years they lived most happily together, she making him a loving and exemplary wife. He was very proud and fond of her, and left her his entire fortune which was large.

Among the adventurers emigrating to the new state was a young man from Knoxville, Tennessee, named Nathaniel Paschall, by vocation a printer, and then employed on the newspaper formerly owned and edited by Daniel P. Cook, "The Illinois Intelligencer." In social

gatherings of the young people, he and Miss Stevens frequently met, and, very naturally, his heart yielded to her youthful charms, but as he was a penniless boy, his fortune yet to be made, the parents of the young lady were not long in deciding that the General was the more eligible suitor. St. Louis was at this time becoming a prosperous city, offering great inducements to industrious and energetic persons in all branches of business. Paschall at once decided to leave Kaskaskia and cast his lot there, and shortly found employment in the office of "The Missouri Republican," now "The Republic." In the course of time he became one of the proprietors, and its chief editor, and was known as a political writer of consummate ability. He made it the leading organ of the Whig party in the west until its dissolution and ultimate absorption by the Republican party, when the paper became, and has ever since remained, Democratic.

After the death of General Edgar in December, 1830, and the lapse of a reasonable time, Mr. Paschall, now established in successful business, renewed his suit and was accepted by the young widow, in whose heart there doubtless lingered during the years of her wedded life a tender recollection of her youthful lover. My mother, being some years the senior and near friend of the young widow, was made a confidante, and, to avoid any unfriendly criticism, it was arranged that the marriage of the Paschalls should take place at the residence of Mr. James L. Lamb, a brother of my mother, at this place, Springfield, Mr. Lamb having moved here the previous year. He was coming to Kaskaskia in the fall, and on his return to Springfield Mrs. Edgar went there under his charge. I, a boy not quite seven years old, rode with them on a stool at their feet, having been sent up a few weeks before the family moved, to go to school with my cousin John Lamb. On arriving at what is now Illinoistown, at a tavern then kept by a man named Short, Mr. Lamb crossed over on the Wiggin's Ferry to St. Louis, and shortly after Mr. Paschall made his appearance. I do not remember the meeting between the lovers, was probably not present, and therefor leave to your imaginations to fill up the void, but I do distinctly remember, as I frequently passed in and out of the room, that they sat at a respectable distance from each other, conversing. He, as his son writes me, was a quiet, taciturn man, and probably not very demonstrative in his love making, being then twenty-eight years old and the lady twenty-four. In a few hours Mr. Lamb returned from St. Louis, Mr. Paschall crossed over and we resumed our journey to Springfield.

My recollection is very distinct that the Short Tavern was the only house in the neighborhood, though, of course, I may be mistaken. Illinoistown is now a flourishing city, although I have not been in that vicinity for more than fifty years.

My father and mother came up from Kaskaskia to the wedding, which occurred on the 27th of November, 1832, upwards of seventy-four years since. The Reverend John I. Bergen was the officiating minister then in charge of the Presbyterian Church, whose daughter Catherine, now Mrs. Edward Jones, a venerable lady, upwards of ninety years old, and alert in mind and memory, was present on the

GEN. JOHN EDGAR'S HOUSE AT KASKASKIA, WHERE LAFAYETTE WAS ENTERTAINED.

occasion, having a vivid recollection of it, and having given me a very interesting account of the wedding and the appearance and deportment of the bride and groom and of the French plays new to the guests, introduced by the bride for the amusement of the younger persons present, which created much merriment. She and I are the only persons now living who were present on the occasion.

The young bride very naturally presuming that Mr. Paschall would not wish to adorn the walls of his home with the portraits of General and Mrs. Rachel Edgar, presented them to our family, and they now hang on the walls of the Chicago Historical Society.

I should not omit to mention an event which occurred during the life time of General Edgar that marked an era in the history of the ancient village, no less than a visit from the Marquis de LaFayette in the month of April, 1825. On this occasion he was the guest of General Edgar, and it is said they met as old friends, and it is quite probable that they saw each other frequently at the table of General Washington. Lavasseur says that General Edgar ordered all the doors of his mansion thrown open, that the eager people might feast their eyes on the nation's guest. A great dinner was served in his honor at Sweet's hotel. My aunt, Mrs. Mather, informed me that this hastily improvised entertainment was provided by the patriotic ladies of the town, as well as the floral decorations, which were not unworthy of the occasion. LaFayette came unexpectedly and was unheralded. Our then Governor, Coles, who was with him at St. Louis, there arranged that the boat on which he was going to Nashville, Tennessee, should stop at the Kaskaskia Landing on the Mississippi river. A ball was given at night at the large stone house of Colonel William Morrison, at which Mrs. Mather was present. She drank wine with LaFayette, and in my family are preserved the satin slippers worn by her on this occasion and the white kid gloves stained with wine.

Lavasseur mentions the incident of the visit of the Indian girl whose father fought under LaFayette during the Revolutionary War, and to whom he gave a certificate of his fidelity to the American cause that had been sacredly preserved, and there exhibited and recognized by him. Mrs. Mather remembered the event, and that the girl was known to the people as Mary, the daughter of Chief Louis Du Quoin, for whom DuQuoin, the county town of Perry county, is named. It is worthy of commendation and now the fashion to preserve in our towns and counties the names not only of the great Indian warriors, but as well the French explorers and Jesuit missionaries whose zeal led them into the wilderness of the Northwest and opened the way to its civilization.

I close this paper with the confession that in its hurried preparation, while collecting the materials for it, down to the last moment, I have done scant justice to the memory of this eminent man, but submit it asking for it your charitable criticism.

THE ILLINOIS EARTHQUAKE OF 1811 AND 1812.*

By Daniel Berry.

When I came to Southern Illinois in the winter of 1857 and 1858, I found that the old people, with whom I became acquainted, had three very interesting topics to talk about, when I asked them about the early times. To mention these topics according to the order in which the narrators were impressed by them, would be, first:

"When the stars fell," as they expressed it. This occurred in November, 1833. The most impressive incident I heard of, with respect to the falling stars, was told me by Mrs. Wilson, wife of Supreme Judge Wm. Wilson. Tumbling down moons might have frightened that woman, falling stars certainly did not scare her. I have heard her say that she washed her hands and face with the stars, as though they had been snow flakes. She carried her baby out to see the sight and saw the stars fall on the baby's face and wiped them off.

The event of next importance was the "Harraken" as they called it. This was a terrific cyclone that swept over Southern Illinois and Indiana clear into Ohio. It happened on the evening of the 18th day of June, 1815, the day of Waterloo. It left a track of broken, twisted, tangled, fallen timber nearly a mile wide through White county.

The talk about the *prime* event—the *old time earthquake*—was mostly traditional. Very few of the narrators were living in Illinois then; in fact, few of them were born before the time of its occurrence. At the time of the "great shakes," as the event was called, the Territory of Illinois did not have five thousand people, not counting the Indians.

I have met but two people who had had any personal experience with the earthquake. These were Mr. Yearby Land and his mother. Mr. Land, when I first knew him, was about fifty-seven years old, and his mother was nearly ninety. His father Robert Land came to the Territory from South Carolina, and found a home place in what was then, the northern half of Gallatin county, and his family was one of the only six families in that part of Gallatin, at that time, 1809. The 3d Principal Meridian had just been run. The government survey of the country—where Carmi and Hawthorne Townships now are—had just been done by Arthur Henrie under contract with Jared Mansfield, Surveyor General of the United States. The land office at Shawneetown was not established until 1812.

* The latter part of this paper, which dealt with the possibility of a future recurrence of earthquakes, has been omitted, since the subject matter was not strictly historical.

At the time of the earthquake, in November, 1811, Mr. Land was a boy past nine years old; but the happening of that four or five months shaking made an impression on his mind that was clear and bright when he was ninety years old. He said the ground would shake and then rock and roll in long waves. After a short quiet spell, there would be another shock and roll.

His father had a clearing in the woods and just on the south edge of what is known as Big Prairie. In this woodland, extending southward to the hills on the Little Wabash, were white oak trees of wondrous size. There was rarely any undergrowth. This primeval forest was like a well kept park. I remember those trees.

When I came to White county, nearly all the produce of the country went by flatboat to New Orleans. These flatboats were as long as a tree could be found to make them. The sides, or gunwales, "gunnels," they were called—single pieces of timber two feet or more, deep and six inches thick. Many a tree could be found that would yield a log ninety-five feet long, which would first be hewed into a stick two feet wide and a foot thick, throughout its entire length. This would be split with the old fashioned whip saw, making two "gunnels" ninety-five feet long, two feet wide and six inches thick.

I mention this timber to give point to Mr. Land's narrative. He said in these long continued rollings, the tall timber would weave their tops together, interlock their branches, then part and fly back the other way, and when they did this "the blossom ends of the limbs would pop like whip lashes; and the ground was covered with broken stuff."

In the prairie, about two miles east of his father's house, a big crack was made in the ground, and you could not see to the bottom of it. The ground on the south of the creek sunk down about two feet. "This crack" was on the land afterward owned by Mr. Jacob Parker on the N. W .Qr. of Sec. 35, T. 5, S. R. 10 E. 3d p. m.

It was well defined when I first saw the place in 1858. Across a field that sloped slightly upward to the north, was a well marked line of uplift of downfall. The lower side to the south. This line extended east and west. It started on some high ground, west of the field, extended eastward through the woodland and was lost in some swamp land further on. It could be traced about two miles. The field was in cultivation for wheat when I first saw it, and the slope of the uplift, or northern side, was about six feet long, as it had been worked down in cultivation.

South and eastward from this farm was a wide extent of low, flat, untimbered land, extending to the Marshall Hills, on the Big Wabash, eastward, and nearly to the Little Wabash southward. In those days this land was not overflowed by the Big Wabash. It was covered by a verdurous growth of grasses and was a splendid summer and winter range, or pasture for horses, cattle and swine.

There were many square miles of this level plain, and over it, in the earthquake time, piles and piles of pure, snow white sand were heaved up. In the words of Uncle Yearby Land, as we called him, these piles "were from the size of a bee-gum to three or four wagon loads."

To understand this, you will have to know what a *"bee-gum"* was. It was a section about twenty inches long, cut from a hollow gum log about fourteen or eighteen inches in diameter. It was placed, with many others of its kind, open end down on a raised platform of split logs. The top end was closed in with riven clapboards weighted down with stones; or pinned down with wooden pegs. In these, vast swarms of bees, unvexed by moth or other enemy of civilization, stored their honey, which was a splendid substitute for the sugar and molasses of later times.

This sand was so white and clean that, in the words of Mr. Land, "it would not stain or soil the whitest linen." These piles of sand showed us evidence of water. The sand remained in piles until washed down by succeeding rains.

In this shaking and rolling of the earth, from November until the following March, no buildings were damaged and only one person hurt.

In reply to my inquiry of old Mrs. Land, the widow of Mr. Robert Land, as to personal injury of the people, she "minded" of only one. "That was a Williams girl, who had her feet badly burned by a skillet lid, loaded with hot embers, tumbling off the skillet and pouring the live coals on her bare feet. She was burnt scan'al-us."

I asked about the houses; if they did not fall down. "I never heard of any that was hurt," replied Mr. Land. It took me a long time to make these contradictory stories of the instability of the ground and the stability of the houses fit each other.

It appears simple enough when we understand the *sort* of houses they were—mere pens about fifteen feet square and seven feet high, built of small logs, that one or two men could handle. The pen was built up in such fashion that the logs were fitted in dove-tailed joints at the corners. The gable ends were raised in the same fashion, except that each log was held in place by a "long log" that was to support the roof. These "long logs" were long enough to project over the end of the cabin, so as to have the stick and mud chimney under the roof. To cover the cabin, riven clapboards, long enough to "reach and lap" from one log to another, were laid double, so as to "break jints," and held in place by weight poles placed directly over and parallel with the "long logs." The weight poles were also long enough to reach beyond the clapboards, so as to be tied down to the "long logs" with hickory withes.

When the cabin was so raised and *kivered*, an opening was made on one side for a door and in one end for a "chimbley," as a chimney was called then. This opening was about six feet wide; and in it was built, on the ground, a six feet square pen, about a foot deep, one-half in the cabin for the hearth, the other half outside for the base of the chimney. This pen was filled with wet clay, pounded down hard. The chimney was built up with a network of split white oak sticks and clay. The sticks lapped at the corners, and as it was built up the sticks were forced down into the soft mortar-like clay and another layer of clay placed upon them, the layers not being more than two inches apart. The walls of the chimney were more than a foot thick. The *over-hang* of the cabin roof protected the chimney from the weather. The floor of the cabin was of split logs, called puncheons.

In the building of this old time mansion, not a bit of iron entered into its construction; not a nail was used. From this you will see that it was an ideal structure to endure and resist the shock, shake or twist of an earthquake. Built like a basket, it was just as flexible and yielding to all the whims of the unlooked for visitor.

The house of Mr. Robert Land was of a different pattern. This was a block house, or fort, built to resist attack from the Indians. And, by the way, it was in this house that the first Methodist church in Illinois was established in 1812. John C. Slocumb was the preacher; and he was also the first county judge in 1816, with Willis Hargrave and Joseph Pomeroy, associates. The old house was standing when I came to the county. Nothing marks the spot now but the old well. It was built on the northeast corner of the south half of the northwest quarter of section 33, town 5 south, range 10 east of the third principal meridian. The place is now a wheat field.

The houses of Mr. Land's neighbors were of the kind I have mentioned. But this was "in the country." In the towns it was different. There were some pretentious buildings in Shawneetown, but not many. Fearon, in his sketches says there were only about thirty in 1817. Some of them had stone chimneys. These were tumbled down.

My friend, Mr. Charles Carroll of Shawneetown, tells me that he remembers Mrs. Eddy the wife of Judge Eddy, relating what she heard her mother say about the terror stricken people of Shawneetown; "how they ran out of their homes into the road, and how the chimneys fell down."

Mr. Harvey Crozier of Carmi has a scrap of family history relating to the earthquake. His great grandfather, Mr. John Cochran, was a friend of Daniel Boone, and started from Kentucky to join his friend Boone in Missouri. Near Kaskaskia he found a country that suited him and determined to settle there. This was in 1811. He opened up a clearing, and the day before the earthquake he had a house raising, where men and women for miles around gathered in to raise the house and partake of the feast and enjoy the dancing frolic that succeeded. The house was to be a double log cabin; that is, two square pens, separated by a wide entry way, and all covered by one roof. To support the roof, two square logs long enough to extend over the two pens and entry way, and over the outer ends of the pens so as to cover in the two chimneys that were to be built at the outer end of each pen were in place when the workmen quit at sundown, November 16, 1811.

The earthquake came that night. In the morning the roof plates of the new house had been shaken down and part of the top logs of the pens were on the ground. In the camp near the new cabin was a line, to hang things on, stretched between two trees; and on this line hung a cow bell, which rang at intervals for many days.

Mr. Wesley McCallister's story. He says: "My grandfather, Edward McCallister, came from Ireland when a small boy; grew up in Virginia and served as a soldier through the Revolutionary war; was in the battle of the Cowpens with General Morgan. After the war he married Miss DeHart, a French Huguenot, and settled in Kentucky. In 1810 he came to Illinois territory. At this time he

had eight children, my father being one of the youngest. He came down the Green and Ohio rivers and up the Wabash river in a pirouque, landing at Cadd's ferry, where Marshall's ferry is now. He built a cabin and was living there at the time of the earthquake. My father was a child about 4 years old, and remembers his mother gathering up the children and taking them to the pirouque; saying that if the earth sank, they would be safer on the water, but she soon found that the water was not as safe as the land and came ashore. All the stock was very much disturbed and frightened; horses nickering, cattle lowing, hogs squealing, and all the stock on the range running to the house."

All the stories agree in this particular, about the fright of the domestic animals, and how they came running home for protection and comfort.

These shakings and wave-like movements of the ground continued from November until the following March. But, according to Mr. Land's statement, the first shocks and rollings were the most severe. These finally subsided into one continuous tremble of the earth. He said the water in his father's well was never still for more than two years.

These Illinois phenomena were only outlying symptoms of the grand convulsion near New Madrid, Missouri, where hundreds of square miles of land sank in the St. Francis river country, in Missouri and Arkansas; and where many square miles of heavily timbered high land sank in western Tennessee, where Obion and Reelfoot lakes are now.

All these stories have only a sort of curious traditional value to the dwellers in the land today. At that time there were very few people in the country. But suppose another visitation of the same sort should come today, tomorrow or next year. Do you not know that it would be an untold horror?

THE MARQUIS de LA FAYETTE.

THE VISIT OF THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO ILLINOIS IN 1825.

By Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin.

It is impossible to divine the reason why the world loves one great man or why another is not loved. Human nature is so perverse that it places the halo of romance around the person of one man and denies it to another for reasons which are apparently inexplicable. Popularity is illusive—here today and there tomorrow; and many of the great ones of history, who have accomplished the most for the true uplifting of humanity; who have led lives of devotion to the highest ideals, have yet, while winning the respect, almost the veneration of the world, failed to win its love or impress its imagination, while often some lesser heroes are the recipients of a romantic affection, legends woven about their names, even though their personal character has not warranted the crowns they wear. Woman as a factor in creating or destroying historical reputations has in the past not been taken into account, and yet it is not too much to claim that every hero of historical romance, if such a term is admissible, owes his never dying reputation to the love of some one or of many women. It is no question of race or temperament. Perhaps the two most striking examples are Napoleon and Washington. The latter is loved and venerated by the whole world, and yet he seems powerless to impress the imagination. Around his name future generations will weave no legends; the rosy light of romance, often so illusive, will not be shed about his life. Madame Washington, admirable as she was, was not a figure to impress the fancy of men or women. She was too prosperous, too reasonable; and her lack of temperament throws a certain grey veil over the picture of the father of his country.

About the name of Napoleon, on the contrary, the great king killer, has clustered numberless legends. Though his life was short, though he died unhonored, all that he said and did interests the world today as much as it did the men and women of his own time. He is a mystery and stands out almost superhuman in strength. While he lived, mothers frightened their children with threats of his coming; men and women died for him; law, art and literature still bear the stamp of his iron will and short life. Even today, the coming of the violets in spring whisper to certain Frenchmen, "He will come again." Josephine, gracious, tender and unhappy, is a name to con-

jure with and stands at the door of imagination to add her charm to his mystery.

Gilbert Motier de Lafayette had the good fortune to be loved alike by men and women, for he was born into an age of romance. He played a fine role in what Carlyle calls the great events of the modern world—the French revolution and the American war of independence. He was born in 1757 and was a posthumous child. His family was noble, wealthy and celebrated. He was one of the queen's pages, a position greatly coveted by the noble lads of France and thus was trained in all courtly graces. At 16 he was married to a beautiful and clever child—she was nothing more—the Countess Anastasie de Noailles, daughter of the duke of that name, who himself played no unimportant part in the French revolution.

When the marquis came the first time to America, in 1775, he was very young. He came in the train of Count d'Estaing, and he at once won all hearts, even that of General Washington, who did not lightly bestow his affection, by his tact, simplicity and sympathy. All France was at that time in the first white heat of passion for liberty. The shrewd and tactful Franklin in Paris was perfecting a treaty of commerce and a defense alliance between France and the young republic. Lafayette, with the land army, and the Count de Grasse on the sea, were fighting the battles of "the insurgents," as the Americans were then called. In his charming memoirs, Lafayette writes of his experience at that time. "My heart was enlisted," and these simple words were the explanation of his immense and immediate popularity. In 1783, when the treaty of peace was signed between England and the states, which assured the independence of the latter, the French returned home. But the triumph of the young republic gave an immense impetus to the cause of liberty in France; and it was natural that Lafayette, the hero of the American war, should come to the front in his own land for the same cause. By 1789, when the States General met, Lafayette and many others of the great French nobles had joined the moderate reform party, he never changed in his allegiance and advocated the principles of that party with singular resolution and simplicity. Events went rapidly in those days, "for what the centuries should have done was now to be the work of a day." Mirabeau further wrote of the assembly: "It has contracted the habit of acting in the same way as do the people it represents, by deeds which are always abrupt, always passionate and always precipitate."Into this turbulent world the courteous, high-minded Lafayette was to be an actor, now popular with the people and the court; now suspected and out of favor with both. One of the most interesting features of his life was the frequency with which he became, by a sort of natural selection, a leader of processions. Beyond doubt the most dramatic episode was when he led the women's insurrection to interview the king at Versailles in October of 1789, riding at the head of an army, or rather a mob, of 30,000, seated on his white horse and haranguing eloquently, but vainly, all the weary way from Paris, and offering, as

Carlyle says, "in his high flown, chivalrous way," his head for his majesty's safety. If his ride to Versailles at the head of his women warriors was a mad venture, surely no more reassuring was his return, riding beside the king's carriage.

To tell of the subsequent dramatic situations of his life is not possible in a short article. Fifty years elapsed between his first and second visits to the United States. His secretary, Lavasseur, has written a truly charming narrative of the marquis' visit in 1825-26. In the foreword Lavasseur writes "that he gives the details of a triumph which honors as well the nation which bestowed it as the man who received it;" and in the moralizing fashion of that day, which dearly loved to point a moral, he adds: "That the enthusiasm of the Americans for Lafayette was an encouragement to endeavor to procure rational liberty for all mankind." Lafayette is thus described in "My Own Times," by John Reynolds, who was with him at St. Louis: "He was six feet tall, slender, with a florid complexion. Age had bent his form, but he was gay and cheerful. His lameness only added to the dignity of his bearing. He spoke English with perfect ease and fluency. A delicate and refined sensibility reigned in his character; chivalry and honor had a resting place in his heart."

He had long desired to revisit America. Finally, in 1824, it was possible for him to so arrange his plans that he could accept the invitation of Congress tendered him by President James Monroe. The Congress of the United States wished to send a ship of war to bring him across the Atlantic, but this courtesy was declined by Lafayette, and with his son, George Washington, and his secretary, Lavasseur, he embarked at Havre, the 13th of July, and arrived in New York the 16th of August. The party crossed in a merchant vessel, called the Cadmus. From the hour he landed in New York, his journey was one series of public triumphs; and it was significant of the affection of the people for him that the bands always played the old French song, "On peut ou être mieux qu'an sein de sa famille."

Governor Coles of Illinois, a remarkable and notable man, had made Lafayette's acquaintance when in Paris in 1817. As soon as the General landed in New York he received an urgent invitation from the Governor to visit Illinois, then a pioneer State—whose Legislature also sent by the Governor an equally urgent invitation, and appropriated $6,475.00 for his entertainment—almost one-third of the tax receipts of the year. Lafayette accepted the invitation and came up the Mississippi from New Orleans in the steamboat Natchez, which was gaily decorated for the occasion. Lavasseur writes: "That since the application of steam to navigation great changes have been thereby produced in the relations of the Mississippi towns. The trip from New Orleans to St. Louis was made in the short time of ten days." At Carondelet, Lafayette was met by Governor Clark of Missouri, Governor Coles of Illinois and Colonel Benton of St. Louis, in which city the party visited the wonderful Indian collection of Captain Clark, of Lewis and Clark fame. Early in the morning of the 17th the Natchez sailed away—or rather, steamed away—with Lafayette and Governor

Coles, and about noon arrived at Kaskaskia then a large trading town. The party evidently arrived before the preparations were complete for their reception, for no carriages awaited at the wharf; but soon an open carriage came driving up, and the Governor and Lafayette drove to the residence of Colonel Edgar, an old revolutionary soldier.

The arrangements of Lafayette's visit by the townspeople seemed to have been very informal, but the warmth and sincerity of the welcome made up for what was lacking in formality. At Colonel Edgar's a reception was held. The colonel ordered all the doors and windows of his residence left open, that the citizens might have a good view of the distinguished guest.

In 1875 an historical atlas of Randolph county was published, a copy of which is in the Chicago Historical Society. On page 67 is a picture of the Edgar house. It was built in the bungalow style, with a steep sloping roof, and surrounded on three sides by a wide veranda, the roof of which was supported by cedar posts. In the Chicago Historical Society is a cane made from one of these posts. The picture represents a spacious, comfortable dwelling. On the same page is the house in 1874 in ruins, only the posts left standing. The Governor, from the steps of Colonel Edgar's residence, made a speech of welcome; and Lavasseur notes the respect and affection of the citizens for him. The facts were quite otherwise, for Governor Coles was the least popular of all who ever occupied the executive chair. Reynolds, in his book, "My Own Times," writes that Governor Coles was a bachelor, and thus without social standing and influence. He was blunt and overbearing and antagonized the federal government and the Illinois Legislature. Later he was actually persecuted by his enemies, and in 1832 he shook off the dust of Illinois from his feet, went to Philadelphia to reside, married, and there lived an honored and prosperous citizen. Lafayette replied to the Governor's speech in his usual happy manner.

Lavasseur was much interested in the motley character of the townspeople—American, French, Canadians and Indians; the latter "tall and unmoved," standing on the outskirts of the crowd. At the time of Lafayette's visit the Indians came every year to Kaskaskia to sell their furs. Lavasseur seems to have held a reception of the French Canadians on his own account. He writes of their admiration for "la belle France," but found them absolutely ignorant of the conditions prevailing there. One man asked if there was not a great French general named Napoleon. Lavasseur did his best to explain Napoleon, a problem with which all the world has since been occupied. Like many another instructor, he was confused by the deductions drawn by his hearers from his explanations, who could not understand why the French submitted to emperors and kings, instead of establishing a republic "like this."

Lavasseur was more interested in the Indians than the citizens, and in the afternoon he visited their encampment. He quaintly writes: "That it was easy to distinguish the place in the tents occupied by the women by the little articles of their toilets, as combs, looking glasses and small bags of paint for their faces." The citizens had prepared a

SWEET'S TAVERN AT KASKASKIA.

Where General Lafayette was entertained.

banquet at the tavern, then kept by Colonel Sweet. "The ladies of the place had with much taste and propriety" decorated the hall with laurel, and a beautiful rainbow of roses and flowers spanned the table around which were seated the honored guests. Mrs. Ballard of Chester writes: "I have been many times in the room where the banquet was held in Old Kaskaskia hotel. It was a large square room." The toasts proposed were: By Lafayette, "Kaskaskia and Illinois; may their joint prosperity more and more evince the blessing of congenial industry and freedom." Governor Coles: "To the inmates of La Grange; let them not be anxious, for though their father is one thousand miles in the interior of America, he is yet in the midst of his affectionate children." Lafayette's son: "The grateful confidence of my father's children and grandchildren in the kindness of his American family." Governor Bond's toast: "General Lafayette; may he live to see that liberty established in his own land which he helped to establish in his adopted country." Judge Sidney Breese also gave a toast.

In the evening a large ball was given at the stone mansion of William Morrison, one of the most distinguished citizens and a prosperous and well known merchant throughout the Mississippi valley. The general opened the ball with Miss Algié Maxwell. Such an impression was created by this function that the women who were honored by an invitation preserved as souvenirs the slippers in which they danced and their fans, on which was a picture of the general.

At midnight Lafayette took leave of his hosts and took a steamer, chartered by the State, for Nashville. On the return trip, May 11, he stopped for a day at Shawneetown, where a salute of twenty-four rounds was fired in his honor. The people of the surrounding country turned out en masse to welcome him and drew up on each side of the road from Rawling's tavern to the wharf, standing in two lines through which he passed to the tavern, where a dinner was served. There were the usual speeches, the welcome being given by Judge James Hall. After spending several hours at the dinner in conversation with his hosts, the general was conducted with great ceremony to the steamer, when he took leave of Governor Coles and continued his trip. Shawneetown was until ten years ago not greatly changed—the William Morrison home, large and commodius, still stands—for the railroad passed by the town and left it in a forgotten corner. John Eddy's house still stands, as does the shop in which was published the first newspaper in Illinois, a complete file of which was owned by the Chicago Historical Society, and destroyed in the Chicago fire. Eben Mack writes: "The ladies of Illinois scattered roses in the path of Lafayette. As was the finale of all these entertainments, the gay and the grave, the lively and severe were harmoniously united. The younger classes, the females, beauty and vivacity were thus enabled to welcome the nation's guest and to manifest their joy at beholding among them the hero, whose history was to them a romance of chivalry—the champion, who came from a foreign land to rescue their fathers and mothers from bondage, and had visited America, after a long absence, to behold the fruits of his toil and sacrifices." To these

vivid manifestations Lafayette gracefuly submitted. He was affable in manner, familiar in conversation and felt himself at home under all circumstances. On these occasions and throughout the declining period of his life he enforced by example the precept of the Christian philosopher: "Let not the stricken in years forget that they were once young." Thus woman, in the final analysis, is the arbiter of Lafayette's fame. Her verdict stands. The hero she elects to crown with garlands wears them to the world's end, to the end of time. If she treasures the slippers in which she danced with him, the fan with which she cooled her cheeks heated by enthusiasm for him, her father, husband, sons and grandsons accept her verdict and help her to place on his brow the crown of romance, which is synonymous with immortality.

THE INTEGRAL PHALANX.

By George E. Dawson.

It was, of course, an irreverent Frenchman who said, "They say God made the world in six days, and it must be so, for there remains yet so much to be done."

And in truth there does seem to be much that is incomplete in the world as we find it, much in the conditions surrounding human beings in the present state of society that calls for explanation.

Why are the factors which go to secure the happiness of the most favored individual so inadequate, and why do they reach, even imperfectly, so few of the great numbers of earth's inhabitants?

These questions in substance have often been asked. They have always been variously answered by the representatives of the religious sects, by philosophers and by men of science.

No one has more keenly felt the wrongs, inequalities and wastefulness of much that is connected with the institution of society as at present existing, and as it has existed for the past century, than Charles Fourier. Nor has any writer been enabled to represent them more acutely nor in more burning words.

Charles Fourier was born in Bensançon, Franche Conté, in 1772, He was fairly well educated, and, at the death of his parents, became possessed of a comfortable fortune for that time, which, however, he lost at the time of the revolution, barely escaping those troublous times with his life.

His first work "Les quatres mouvements' 'attracted little attention. It was published in 1801. It contained essentially all of his peculiar theories, the announcement of his great discoverey, as he calls it, which was afterwards amplified and extended to several volumes constituting "Traité de l'unité universelle."

It is not our purpose to follow the slow growth of his teachings. It is enough to say that his theories secured little public attention until Victor Considerant and others took up the subject and through lectures and writings made them more fully known.

His little band of disciples were most active in propagating his doctrines from about 1832 to 1845.

Fourier considered himself greater than Newton. Newton discovered the laws of attraction of the physical universe; *he* discovered the great principle of passional attraction. Perfect harmony exists among the planets and heavenly bodies. Harmony would also exist among

the peoples of the earth were it not for the foolish restrictions put upon the relations of men with one another, brought about by a false conception of their social state.

His definition of happiness is attractive. "Happiness" he says, "consists in the possession of a vast number of desires combined with a full opportunity of satisfying them all."

The passions with Fourier meant all the desires which move to human action. These he classes as sensuous, those which obtain gratification through the five senses; the moral affections, which include friendship, love, paternity and ambition; and the intellectual impulses.

These passions, if unrestrained, would act harmoniously, would furnish their own correctives. There would be no excesses.

Fourier's idea of social reconstruction was more democratic than that of St. Simon or of Robert Owen. Owen wanted the government to adopt his views and make people happy, clean and industrious by strength of paternalism in its control of their lives and surroundings. St. Simon would have the world ruled for its own good by an autocracy of talent. Fourier, however, wished to provide for the mere democratic mingling of all classes in huge apartment buildings capable of containing 1,800 persons. These were by no means to be herded together indiscriminately, but families were to occupy apartments large or small as necessity demanded. These were to be heated at the common expense, to be provided with a common kitchen and laundry sufficient to provide for the entire phalansterere or common dwelling house.

Indeed Fourier, nearly a hundred years ago, seems to have dreamed of a large co-operative apartment house where all the drudgery of the household should be carried on on a large scale much the same thing that is aimed at by the advanced apartment landlord of the present day.

He was no socialist of the modern type and did not believe in a dead level of equality among men, either in respect to talent or in material possessions. He expressly states that some would possess more than others but he expected that the close contact in one dwelling place would give rise to a more free mingling of those of different degrees of wealth. That the differences would be slight and cause little attention to be drawn toward them. He does provide that every member of an association should receive a minimum amount sufficient to clothe and feed him, but the remainder of the income of an association was to be distributed in the proportions of five-twelfths to labor, four-twelfths to capital and three-twelfths to talent.

In the year 1832 a young man of means was living in Paris pursuing his studies. He had gone there from a western village of New York four years before; a youth of nineteen, to study philosophy. He studied in Paris with Cousin, afterward with Hegel in Berlin. Then he wandered in the East and after an interval of three years had again returned to Paris for the express purpose of acquainting himself with the theories of Fourier. He there became acquainted with Fourier himself, and spent some time in intimate relationship with the Circle of Fourierists who were publishing a weekly paper called "La Réforme Industrielle."

His name was Albert Brisbane. He was a young man of generous impulses, filled with love of mankind and enkindled with the fires of an inextinguishable enthusiasm. When he returned to America he made his home in New York and devoted himself to the task of spreading the ideas of Fourier. It was a time of ferment. In France, St. Simon and his writings had been discussed, many of his disciples afterward embracing Fourierism. In England Robert Owen had made his experiments with a factory community, successfully while under his supervision, and had attempted at New Harmony, Indiana, the transplanting of his ideas into the new world.

The minds of men were opened to the reception of new ideas, and experiments in social reform were eagerly entered upon.

Horace Greeley, then a young man, had a few years before obtained the control of the New York Tribune, and was attracting the attention of the public by his writings.

Brisbane paid for the use of a column in that paper and devoted it to the inculcation of the ideas of Fourier. He alone was to be responsible for the sentiments there expressed and for the theories advocated. Nevertheless Horace Greeley himself became imbued with Fourierism, and became a zealous advocate of the principles of association, giving both time and money to the furthering of the various projects which sprang up at the time.

Thus New York became the center of the propagation of Fourierism, and the New York Tribune was not only its organ, through the arrangement which Brisbane had made, but the circulation of the Tribune itself was greatly increased through the wave of social reformation which spread like a prairie fire over the entire country, the Tribune being recognized as the mouth-piece of the leaders of the principles of passionate attraction and association.

Communities, called Phalanxes, were organized in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. Most of these were short-lived, and usually ended in loss to the promoters. The exceptions were the Wisconsin Phalanx and the North American Phalanx, the latter existing about twelve years.

In 1844 Lick Creek was a postoffice in Sangamon county, Illinois, about sixteen miles southwest of Springfield. It is said that Sangamon in Pottawatomie language, means "a country where there is plenty to eat." If so, it fitly describes the county, for nowhere can be found a more fertile soil nor a more agreeable diversity of forest and prairie.

Lick Creek postoffice took its name from a small creek which ran near the then settlement, on which were salt licks frequented by the deer.

It is now known as the village of Loami. The early settlers in this neighborhood were genuine Yankees. They were a reading people and, no doubt, the new doctrine preached in Brisbane's column of the Tribune reached this remote settlement. One Rev. Theophilus Sweet of the Campbellite or Christian church, became a student of the question of association, and had as early as 1844, induced some of his neighbors to organize an experiment to test the economy and desirability of associated effort. The organization was called the Sangamon Association.

In the Harbinger, Vol. 1, p. 288, October 11, 1845, appears the following communication of A. W. Sweet son of the above named Theophilus Sweet.

THE SANGAMON ASSOCIATION.

MR. EDITOR—A short account of the Sangamon Association may not be uninteresting to you. Having had an opportunity to inform ourselves upon the Science of Social Unity, we last winter gave three lectures upon it, in this neighborhood, and got up too strong an excitement; (it is not best to have many out of the same neighborhood, on account of the neighborhood prejudices) we however, organized in February, selected our officers, and location, got some five hundred acres of land invested, principally under cultivation, and well proportioned as to prairie and timber. Our location on the head of Lick Creek timber, fourteen miles from Springfield, and on the south side of a six mile prairie with good timber adjoining. The prairie is undulating—has a deep rich and black soil and is decidedly a healthy situation, as twenty years experience proves.

The railroad from Springfield to Meridocia passes immediately by the domain.

We do not associate until the first of March next. The present season we are making the necessary preparations by building, etc. The plan of our present building is a frame 390 feet in length, 24 in width, the rooms to be finished off, 16 feet square, in front; two-thirds of the length is to be one story, and one-third two stories, and is intended for temporary dwellings, but eventually for work shops, the work, however, is substantial. All the work done the present year, is paid in stock at the customary prices of the country. We have now 64 feet in length of our building up, and inclosed, and the present season we shall burn brick, sow wheat, etc. We have a saw mill that will be in operation by the first of August. We intend to proceed in everything with the utmost caution, and yet with firmness, and can see no reason why we should not succeed.

Our constitution is liberal, but allows us to contract no debt to exceed five per cent upon the capital.

We solicit subscriptions of stock, and request those who are favorable to Association to come and see our location, soil ,etc. We, however, want none who view it only as a matter of dollars and cents, but those who are Associationists in deed and truth; no busy-bodies in other men's matters, brawlers nor contentious persons; but persons of good morals, who are willing to be pioneers in the regeneration of Society, and such as are not apt to put their hands to the plough and look back, but Philanthropists. We have now thirty-five productive members, and but fifteen unproductive (children) members and shall only admit new members as we can furnish rooms and profitable employment.

A. W. SWEET.

Springfield, July 5, 1845.
Alphadelphia Toscin.

About the time The Sangamon Association started into being one John S. Williams of Cincinnati, Ohio, who is spoken of as one of the most active exponents of Fourierism in the West, with a few others, had organized what they termed "The Integral Phalanx."

They had contracted for about 900 acres of land in the vicinity of Middletown, Ohio, about twenty-three miles north of Cincinnati on the Miami Canal. It was known as the Manchester Mills property, and Mr. Abner Enoch who had agreed to sell it to the Phalanx for $45,000 was to subscribe $25,000 to the capital stock. They drew up an elaborate system of pledges and rules for the government of the Phalanx, which were no doubt chiefly the work of Mr. Williams. They are entitled,

promoting the birth, education and after-life of the Integral Phalanx.

There are five pledges and thirty-two rules, forming an elaborate system of organization and conduct.

A part of Pledge I is as follows: "Having great confidence in the practical application of the doctrines of Associated Industry as taught by Charles Fourier, of France, and having a desire to see them tested agreeably to the laws of universal analogy maintained by him, we, for that purpose,. pledge and promise to pay, advance or loan the amount of money or capital by us hereto severally subscribed to John S. Williams, Joseph Williams and Mathew Westervelt, trustees, and their appointed or elected successors, and their associates acting under the name and style of The Integral Phalanx ——" * * *

Pledge II.

"We who have designated ourselves as members of said Phalanx in our subscription hereto, pledge and promise, to the above named persons and to each other, that unless prevented by circumstances above our control, to enter said Phalanx, with all the individuals we in like manner designate as members, or may be substituted for them or added to them, as soon as proper preparations for its organization shall be made, if within three and one-half years from this time, and, also that we will remain in it at least three and one-half years, so that the system may have a fair test, for which we feel an ardent desire, under the firm conviction of the benefits of Association and of the detriments of civilization."

The rules provide for what is essentially a joint stock company. Each member is to possess at least one share of the value of $100. This may be contributed in money, land, or of credits for labor performed or materials furnished.

The Phalanx was not to be organized until there were 64 families or about 400 hundred persons of all ages and both sexes, but might have an inceptive existence while the requisite number was being secured.

The precautions taken to secure harmony were great.

For instance, when the time comes to select a domain or local habitation for the Phalanx every member shall have the privilege of viewing the proposed domain, and of voting upon the selection. When the selection is made, the minority, if they wish it, may be released from their pledges, retire from the Phalanx, and be refunded their credits.

The rules are not to be altered without a month's notice thereof and only by a vote of eleven-twelfths of those present, and again there is the provision that the minority may withdraw if they wish.

Also Rule XXX reads: "Excepting the pledges of experiment every denizen of Phalanx shall at all times have the liberty to withdraw himself or herself from membership, and withdraw his or her stock."

This system of pledges and rules was signed in Ohio by those contemplating the formation of the Integral Phalanx on October 16, 1844.

The rules provide for the printing of a Gazette to be the medium of extending their views and keeping in touch with other like organizations. The first number of this paper called "The Ploughshare and Pruning-hook" was published in Cincinnati, July 1, 1845. We are told that the name of the paper is symbolic; ploughshare signifying "production" and pruning hook "correction."

In the editor's inaugural we find the following:

"We are prepared to prove to you the fulfillment of the word of truth concerning the destiny of man, that the time has fully come and the means are now furnished for all to 'beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks,' and that they need to learn war no more.

"As the sword and spear are implements of warlike destruction and therefore truly symbolic of the present antagonistic society so also are the ploughshare and pruning-hook implements of peaceful production and therefore truly symbolic of associated industry."

They supposed they had perfected arrangements for the Manchester Mills property, but some difficulty arose as to the settlement of the terms and the whole matter fell through. The leaders set out in search of a new location. They first visited Greenville, Bond county, Illinois, where they had been offered a location. They formally called a meeting to be held there in September, 1845, to decide upon the question. During that month they visited Sangamon county, and there found the association in existence which has already been refered to calling itself the "Sangamon Association."

They were invited by the Sangamon Association to unite with them. The rules and pledges of the Integral Phalanx were read and explained to the members of the Sangamon Association, who expressed approval of them.

When the time for the meeting in Bond county arrived the president and secretary of the Sangamon Association accompanied their Ohio visitors. None of the other members from Ohio answered the call of the meeting, and it was adjourned to the 16th of October, 1845, to be held on the Domain of the Sangamon Association.

It met there according to arrangement, and the members of the Sangamon Association having previously had sufficient time to become familiar with the pledges and rules, signed them that day, October 16, 1845, and the Sangamon Association became merged in the Integral Phalanx.

Their own view of the prospects for success with this re-enforcement of new blood and the acquisition of a domain will best be understood by brief excerpts from a letter dated four days later, and sent to the New York Tribune, which published it the first week in November.

HOME OF THE INTEGRAL PHALANX.
Sangamon County, Oct. 20, 1845.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

"We wish to apprise the friends of association that the Integral Phalanx having for one year wandered like Noah's dove finding no resting place for the sole of its foot has at length found a habitation. A union was formed on the 16th of October inst., with the Sangamon Association, * * *

"We were defeated, as we now believe, very fortunately for us, in securing a location in Ohio.

"We have now a home embracing 500 acres of Uncle Sam's dominions fourteen miles southwest from Springfield, the capital of the State, and in what is considered the best county and wealthiest portion of the State. Our domain can be extended any distance, embracing three miles square, at an average of from five to seven dollars per acre, as we may wish to make additions. (This land now after nearly one hundred years of cultivation is worth about $150 per acre.)

"We have, however, at present sufficient land for our purposes. It consists of high rolling prairie and woodlands adjoining, which can not be excelled in the State for beauty of scenery and richness of soil, covered with luxuriant growth of timber of almost every description, oak, hickory, sugar maple, walnut, etc. The land is well watered, lying upon Lick Creek, with springs in abundance and excellent well water at the depth of twenty feet. The land under proper cultivation will produce one hundred bushels of corn to the acre and everything else in proportion. There are five or six comfortable buildings upon the property, and a temporary frame building commenced by the Sangamon Association, intended, when finished, to be 390 feet by twenty-four feet, (120 feet of it to be two stories high) is now being erected for the accommodation of families.

"Under our rules of progress it will be seen that until we are prepared to organize, we go upon the system of hired labor. We pay to each individual a full compensation for all assistance rendered in labor or other services and charge him fair price for what he receives from the Phalanx. The balance of earnings after deducting the amount of what he receives to be credited to him as stock to draw interest as capital. To capital whether it be money or property put in at a fair price we allow ten per cent compound interest. This plan will be pursued until our edifice is finished and we have about 400 persons ready to form a temporary organization.

"We intend to follow Fourier's instructions until we find they are wrong; then we will abandon them. As to an attempt to organize groups and series until we have the number, have gone through a proper system of training and erected an edifice sufficient for the accommodation of about 400 persons, every feature of our Rules of Progress forbids it.

"We believe that the effort will place every Phalanx that attempts it in a situation worse than civilization itself. This distance between civilization and association cannot be passed at a leap.

"If an association will violate every scientific principle taught by Fourier, pay no regard to analogy, and attempt an organization of groups and series before any preparation is made for it, and then run into anarchy and confusion, and become disgusted with their efforts, we hope they will have the honesty to take the blame upon themselves and not charge it to the Science of Association.

"Those of our members now upon the ground are composed principally of the former members of the Sangamon Association. We expect a number of our members from Ohio this fall, and many more of them in the spring. We have applications for information and membership from different directions, and expect large accessions in numbers and capital during the coming year.

"We would urge all the friends of Association to exert themselves with unwearied and unwavering energy in the great cause. Whatever feeling of indifference may exist, whatever opposition they may meet with from ignorance, bigotry and the scoffs and sneers of the 'would-be witty,' the great principles of combined action; attractive industry, the grand social law that governs universal movement are silently and gradually gaining ground, and sooner or later must be crowned with universal and triumphant success. The night is passed, and although darkness still prevails the dawn is breaking."

These are but brief extracts from the letter which occupies about one and one-half columns of the Tribune. It was probably written by William H. Galbraith, a young lawyer, and the first secretary of the Integral Phalanx. Mr. John S. Williams, who had been president and Mr. Galbraith, who had been secretary of the Phalanx from the time of its organization in Ohio were president and secretary of it respectively on its Sangamon Domain.

The land actually contributed by the members of the Sangamon Association amounted to 310 acres. It seems probable that forty acres

more were bought with a part of the cash contribution of $400 made by a member from Ohio, so that the Domain did not at any time exceed 350 acres.

Only a portion of the building projected was ever built and that it seems was ready for occupation in the early winter. It is thus described by a lady whose parents occupied a portion of it and whose recollections of the life there are vivid, she being then a girl of fourteen years.

"The scheme was soon noised abroad and strangers began to flock in. This made it necessary to build some new houses, which they proceeded to do. Some of the new comers were carpenters and immediately went to work putting up a building 72 feet long and 16 feet wide, divided by partitions into four rooms. At the back of the main building was a side or shed room, the whole length of the first, ten feet wide, also divided by partitions; some of the rooms the same length as the one in front, some of them divided into two.

"The one we occupied was divided, making three rooms. They were lathed and plastered and were very comfortable. None of the families in these rooms were large. Mr. John M. Thrasher's, which was the largest, consisted of himself, wife and four little girls, as sweet and pretty as could be found anywhere. Our rooms were next to theirs, and they were as nice and pleasant a family as any one could wish to live by. On the other side of us lived Silas Sims, wife and two children. Uncle William and Aunt Achsea lived in the east end.

"The first president of the Association was named Williams. He was not liked by the people and did not remain long. Mr. Pearce was chosen president after that and was very popular.

"The plan for work was to divide the men into groups with a chief for each group. For instance, my father was appointed to oversee a certain part or branch of farm work. Then he would select the men and boys he thought best suited to that kind of work.

"Father was also chief of the milking force and he and mother had entire charge of the dairy, keeping the accounts, weighing and measuring out the butter and milk to the applicants. They had a good brick dairy house and a large patent churn.

"We did not eat at one common table while we lived there, but they afterward built a large dining room and kitchen adjoining the building I first described, and they all ate at the same table.

"We left there in the spring of 1846. The way of living did not suit mother. I was young and thoughtless with not much to do, and I enjoyed it hugely.

"The members were nearly all pleasant, intelligent people and it was a good place for social intercourse. There was only one person I can remember really disliking and that was old Mr. Williams, the first president."

The following extract is from a letter written by Mrs. Harriet I. Parker of Sparland, Ill., the youngest daughter of Adin E. Meacham, who put into the Phalanx 111 acres of land and his stock and farm equipment.

"The houses were built in a long row, all as one house, then partitioned off two rooms for each family. Back of them were the dining room, kitchen, wash room, milk house, etc. All kinds of farm work were carried on systematically.

Each one had his or her work to do. Two women did the cooking and took care of the milk. A man with certain boys to help him took care of the cows and did the milking and churning. Another man with boys' help, did all the gardening, brought the vegetables all cleaned to the kitchen ready for the cooks.

"Three women with young girls to help did the washing. Others did the ironing. One woman taught the school. A girl two or three years my senior did the dining room work. The teacher would excuse her from the school room at 11 o'clock to set the table and wait on the people while they ate. Was not expected back in the school room until the work was all done.

"The cooks washed the kitchen utensils and cleaned up the kitchen. Two women did the spinning, for in those days we had the yarn spun and knit the stockings for large and small, young and old.

"We had our President, Secretary, Treasurer, etc. Also our gentlemen of leisure, who could act their part, who toiled not, yet fared as well as the ones who labored.

"Everything moved along like clock work for a few months, then the spirit of discontent began to show itself, grew stronger and stronger, finally ending in a general breaking up. It was too much of a one-sided affair. Men came there with large families, no property, very little money and in some instances none at all and were getting a living at the expense of the old farmers who had invested their all and had small families to keep.

"My father lost $1,000 to $1,500 in the venture. Never got half his stock back and not all of his land."

Charles H. Dawson, the writer's father, was the blacksmith of the Phalanx. The writer's mother, writes as follows:

"When the Integral Phalanx was organized with so many of our friends we felt no hesitancy in joining and put in all our possessions which were our five acre home and a good cow. Father was willing to cast his lot with all his possessions into the venture, but mother was bitterly opposed to it and shed many tears before consenting to it. Aunt Achsa Colburn had many talks with her on the subject. Mother never had any faith in the success of the Association.

"After we joined, we were anxious to go up and be with them, and they were anxious to have the shop there, and get the work, so we moved up in the log house in the yard first. Then into one room with mother to let another family have the log house.

"Uncle Wm. Colburn had his saw mill and they cut trees off the land that was given and sawed their own lumber for the long Unity house. It was only one story. Carpenters came and with the help already there began building. When summer came with time for garden and fruit, it was a hard time for us. Rules had been made and adopted, and there were pa's cherries and other fruit that we were not allowed to touch. Boys and men were sent to pick the fruit which was equally divided. Many families coming from a distance brought nothing, but we had to see the fruit divided getting scarcely a taste of what would otherwise have been ours in the greatest abundance.

"Then the garden was away off and not enough anyway that first summer. I remember I went after some potatoes once and a boy went to show me where to get them. A stake with our name was at the end of the row and the rows were ours to another stake.

"Then there was trouble about getting milk. Seldom could have more than a quart, because my family was small, and there was our cow the milkers told me, the best one among them."

L. O. Colburn of Loami, son of William Colburn, was a young lad at the time his father joined the Phalanx.

The following items are taken from a recent letter.

"As I recall it father and mother became members of the Integral Phalanx in the fore part of 1846 and we moved in the spring into one set of rooms of the 'long building.' This building was intended to house four families and was so framed that other sets of rooms could be added as needed. It was built from lumber, cut and sawed from trees on lands of the society. We occupied the east set of rooms. We lived here till the spring of 1847 when father and mother withdrew from membership and moved back to the old home.

"In a brick building north of the 'long house' the milk of several cows was worked into butter and cheese by the women of the society, who I think worked by reliefs or details, changing regularly.

"As I remember the plan of organization those who owned property put it into the society for use only, they reserving the right to withdraw it or its value whenever they desired to cancel their membership. Each member was credited with a specified sum per hour for the time employed in labor and charged for provisions, clothing, fuel, etc., furnished him. Accounts were balanced at stated intervals.

"There was a hemp and rope plant in which some kind of horsepower was used to run the machinery. I well remember the dam across the branch and the pond where the hemp was put into the water to rot or soften and loosen the bark to prepare it for breaking and hackling which cleaned up the hemp for use. Also the rope walk where the finished product was twisted into rope by hand power.

"There was a school and during the spring and summer months the boys six to twelve years of age were required to work in the garden two or three hours each day under the supervision of the school teacher."

From all sources of information open to the writer there were connected with the Phalanx from first to last 32 men, 21 women and 42 children. There were 20 families.

But human nature was no more perfect among the followers of Fourier than among those who still clung to the abuses of civilization. Somehow harmony does not come at call, nor is it always found among those who are loudest in its praise. Differences of opinion arose as to the conduct of affairs. These gave rise to dissensions and jealousies. Enterprising spirits arose who thought they were as capable and worthy of the management of affairs as was Mr. Williams.

The women especially upon whom fell the duty of providing a bountiful table, and who in those days of cheapness and plenty were little accustomed to consider a matter of a dozen eggs or a pound of butter more or less, found it hard to have all the supplies of the household measured out to them, and mayhap to have some one in authority state that so many pounds of butter per week to a family of a certain size was sufficient.

There was evidently a little cabal or combination of a few members against such as refused to be guided by their influence. One or two of the members of much influence were arbitrary in their manner and hard to get along with.

Differences arose also between the president and members of the Phalanx, so that he was obliged to resign which he did March 6, 1846. According to his own story threats of personal violence were made against him. It is difficult to get at the real cause of the dissatisfaction on the part of the members with their president. He says euphoniously, "that a difference of opinion in relation to policy becoming manifest the Phalanx suffered him to be excessively abused and vituperated until he felt constrained to retire from the presidency."

It is probable, however, that the quarrel had a meaner origin, and that the dissension arose over an attempt on his part to cause the Phalanx to pay for time spent and services rendered in attempts at organizing the Integral Phalanx in Ohio. The amount claimed by him was $1,100. Naturally the members in Illinois who had received nothing but a name objected to taking with it obligations previously incurred in an unsuccessful attempt at organization.

A few days after his resignation he wrote a leter to The Harbinger, extracts from which appeared in the issue of April 4, 1846, in a general article entitled, "The Integral Phalanx, Sangamon County, Illinois." Reference to the letter from Williams is made as follows:

"Mr. Williams writes: After the Union of the two associations, I was the only member from Ohio, with no inconsiderable amount of latent incompatibility between my views, habits, feelings, and those of my associates here, who all belong to this State, while ten out of the fourteen families now on the domain are connected by blood, or by marriage, and twelve of them belong to one religious class, among which are two preachers, a father and son.

"The class of Christians to which twelve of our families belong, is in its general principles liberal minded, and well disposed. They are strong against all creeds and sects, and yet in some things are as decidedly sectarian as any others. Privacy of business is one thing which they are unitedly against. They transact all their most disagreeable disciplinary affairs in public. This feature in their regime is well calculated to catch the popular breeze and to push their bark ahead.

"You know that from the first hour I was president of the Integral Phalanx, on March 27th of last year, I was decidedly in favor of select meetings, when we were transacting business belonging to the Phalanx. I have never been able to see the utility of throwing our door open to a meddlesome, curious, fault-finding community; neither do I believe any council, committee, series or group, within any Phalanx will ever be able to act efficiently, properly, unitedly, or emulously, unless allowed the privilege of privacy in their particular business, without the meddlesome interference of others not so well informed and not equally interested in it.

"The nucleus being thus formed of one cast of sentiment the twelve families would have little labor to perform in bringing the remaining two families into unison with them, and on the first question in which the right of privacy was mooted, I found them unanimously against it.

"Rather than surrender rights so fundamental and so inseparably connected with efficient action, and the freedom of association, I chose to surrender any official standing in the Phalanx. My resignation was accepted on last Monday evening, but not without a struggle to maintain rights which even civilization never denies, except suspicion of treason or felony is attached to the parties using it. It is due, however, in justice to the parties as well as to the cause of Associative Unity, to say that the whole has been conducted, and my resignation made and accepted as the inevitable tendency of things as they exist, without so much as one hard word being uttered, or the least hard feeling on either side as far as I know or believe. I am not of those who think it best to compromise with present errors at the expense of the future, and most likely, to its ruin."

After the departure of Mr. Williams, Mr. Wm. G. Pearse was elected president, but the interests of the Phalanx did not flourish. Several families dropped out. A brief extract from a letter written to Mr. Williams dated, "Home of the Integral Phalanx, Dec. 15, 1846," will illustrate the condition of associative unity then existing:

"You probably have been made aware of our having lost some of our members, some of which at least we are better off without than with them.

"Marshall's family are yet on the domain and will remain during the winter, and whether he will take them away in the spring or not I cannot say, but the probability is that he will. (This is confidential of course.) A. W. left without anyone regretting his absence. He proved himself a rascal of deepest dye even for civilization, and I made up my mind soon after uniting here that the same association could not contain both of us, and had not he left I should. Of this I have given you some hints before. But he found that his influence was gone and he might as well go likewise. J. F. Harrison loved money better than Association or his own soul either

and has gone to seek a place to gratify that passion more surely than he could here. William Colburn it is expected will leave soon probably by his own free will and if not, by some other means. There is no objection to Colburn himself but his wife is altogether un-get-along-able-with and must leave."

Even at this time, the middle of December, 1846, they were beginning to discuss the possible near end of the Association and to consider their legal rights as fixed by the rules of a crude and defective civilization, and we learn from a letter written January 30, 1847, that some of the members had already taken legal advice and the general plan of a dissolution had been determined upon.

Those who had contributed land were naturally desirous of getting it back. The land had been conveyed to John S. Williams, Joseph Williams, and Theophilus Sweet, as trustees for the subscribers to and members of the Integral Phalanx.

Joseph Williams had never come to the domain, and John S. Williams had long since been compelled to resign the presidency. This left the Phalanx in the unpleasant predicament of having the legal title to its domain standing partially in citizens of another state, not members of the Association.

Regular action was taken by the Phalanx and pursuant thereto a request was made upon these trustees to reconvey to trustees in Illinois. The request was refused. On May 13, 1847, a bill was filed by eighteen remaining shareholders in the Phalanx for the purpose of compelling the two trustees, Williams, to join the third trustee in a conveyance to the new trustees who had been designated by the Phalanx.

The bill was drawn by Stephen T. Logan, one of the most noted lawyers of Illinois, and is a model of clear, concise statement.

A long rambling answer was filed by John S. Williams, in November. Depositions were taken in Cincinnati and at Lick Creek. On the hearing which followed in April, 1848, the relief prayed for was granted; the property was conveyed by the master to the new trustees and by them to those entitled to it, usually the original grantors, but with some diminution of acreage as the credits which the various members had upon the books for work done or material contributed had to be settled for, and the deficiency after disposing of cattle, crops, etc., had to be made up from the land.

As one observer said in reference to the previous working of the scheme, "The shareholders kept losing and those who came in with nothing were getting along very well." They had experienced the fate of the numerous other attempts that were made throughout the country about the same time. They had had a longer existence than many associations, and the outcome was less diastrous, but they had again demonstrated the truth of two propositions.

First. That there exists no wisdom either in any individual or in a select number of individuals so great that it can infallibly determine the taste, capacity, and field of employment of the different members of a community and have it acquiesced in for any length of time.

Second. That a different external form of attempting to harmonize

the conflicting interests of men to such an extent as to permit them to live in communities does not change the nature of men themselves and cannot remove the controlling force of selfish interests.

NOTE I.

The following is as complete a list as could be obtained of those at any time connected with The Integral Phalanx.

Anderson, Dickey, widower, father of Mrs. Harney and of Mrs. A. W. Sweet.
Bishop, Mr., clock tinker, only remained during winter of 1845-46.
Bishop, Mrs.
Burr, Albert, 18 years old, nephew of Theophilus Sweet.
Burr, George A., said to have gone from Springfield.
Burr, Phoebe, his wife.
Colburn, William.
Colburn, Aschsa, his wife. Children, Paul, Isaac, Eben, Otis, David, Spencer, Daniel, Clarrissa, Abbie, Fannie, Mehitabel and Margaret.
Dawson, Charles H.
Dawson, Julia A., his wife; one child, Richard H.
Emery, Mr.
Galbraith, William H., young lawyer from New York, taught school for Phalanx one winter, probably 1845-46.
Gould, William, } not members, but lived on Domain some months; printed the Plow-
Gould, Hannah, his wife, } share and Pruning-hook, official organ of Phalanx.
Harkness, Mrs., probably from Peoria.
Harkness, Edward, son, 18 years old. Two daughters.
Harney, James, brother-in-law of Ansel Sweet, from Morgan Co.
Harney, Mrs., his wife. Two children.
Harney, William, reported by Amanda Sweet Cole, as having been a member.
Harrison, John F., } Nephews of Mrs. Theophilus Sweet.
Harrison, Milton B., }
James, Mrs., widow, came with Pearses from N. Y. Afterwards married Albert Burr.
Leavering, Peter, of New York.
Marshall, James.
Marshall, Mrs., his wife. Children, Anson, son; Ruhumy, daughter; Alfred, son; daughter name unknown.
Martin, David A.
Martin, Alexander, son 16 year old.
Mathews, C. B.
Mathews, Mrs., his wife. One child.
Meacham, Adin, E.
Meacham, Isabel, his wife. Children, Adin E. A., son; Harriett, daughter.
Meigs, Mr.
Pearse, William G., from N. Y.
Pearse, Mrs., his wife.
Shastee, Mary, ward of Theophilus Sweet.
Sims, Austin.
Sims, Silas.
Sims, Mrs., his wife. Two children.
Smith, Robert, }
Smith, Charles, son, } From Cincinnati.
Smith, Giles, son, }
Strong, Alfred.
Sweet, Levi, son of Theophilus Sweet.
Sweet, Mrs., his wife. Children, Manda, Henry and Sarah.
Sweet, Ansel, son of Theophilus Sweet.
Sweet, Mrs., his wife. Three children.
Sweet, Judson, son of Theophilus Sweet.
Sweet, Mrs., his wife.
Sweet, Lewis, widower, son of Theophilus Sweet.
Sweet, Cyrus S., son of Theophilus Sweet, 18 years, unmarried.
Sweet, Theophilus W.
Sweet, Mrs. Lucinda, his wife.
Sweet, Phoebe M., daughter of Theophilus Sweet, afterwards married Tankersley.
Thrasher, John M.
Thrasher, Mrs., his wife. Four little girls.
Williams, John S.
Woodworth, Daniel, widower.
Woodworth, Sarah, daughter of Daniel.

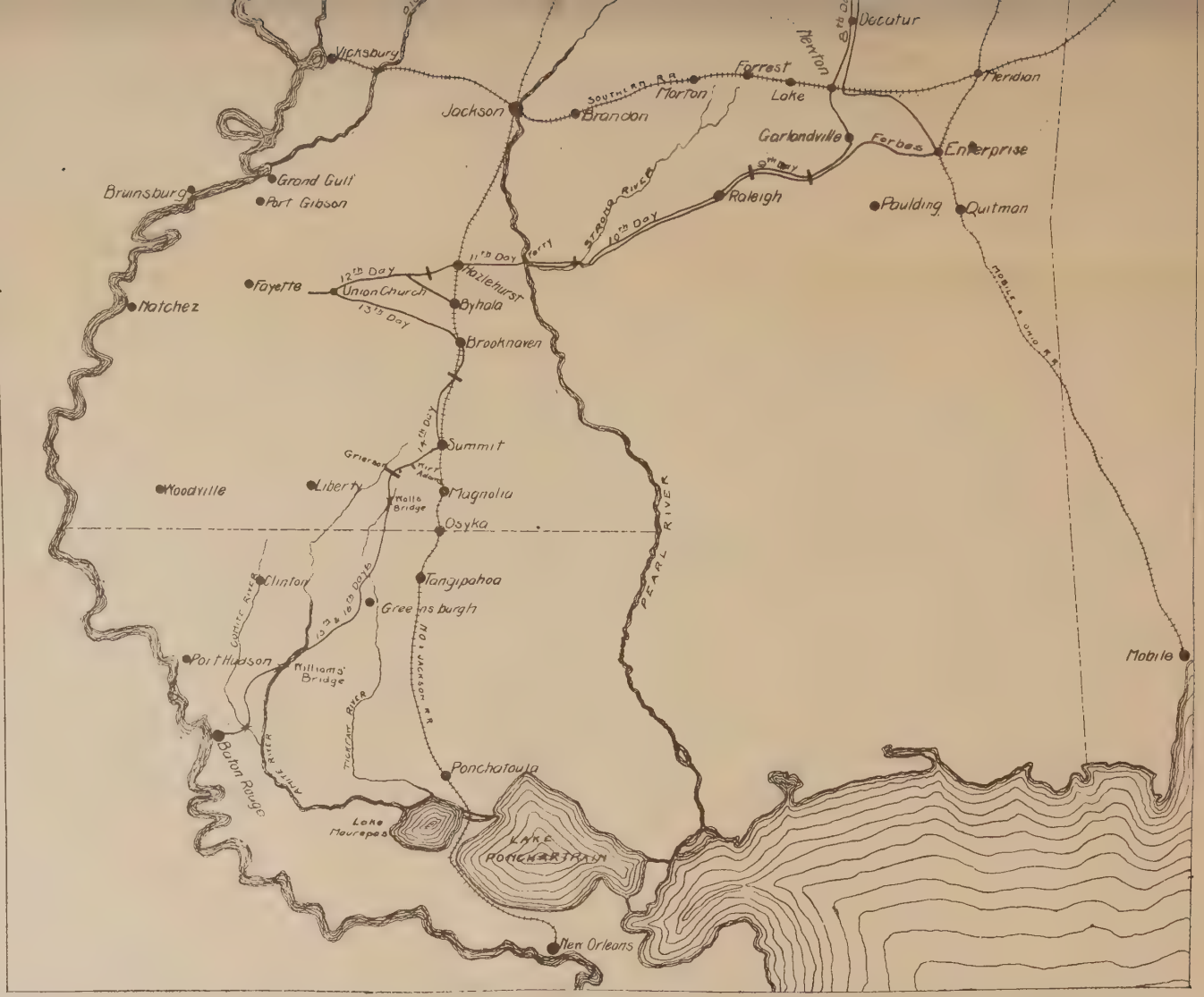
NOTE II.

The Phalanx, organ of the Fourier movements, was published in New York, beginning in October, 1843. In June 1845 The Phalanx and The Social Reformer were united under the title "The Harbinger," and continued under that name until Feb. 10, 1849. Copies are preserved in the Ely collection in the John Crerar Library, Chicago.

NOTE III.

The writer, in 1893 found in the basement of the court house in Springfield, the files in the case of Dickey Anderson et al. v. John S. Williams et. al., circuit court for Sangamon county, Illinois. The bill, answer, depositions and exhibits, gives a history of the Integral Phalanx, worthy of preservation. If the State Historical Society cannot get possession of these original files it should have complete copies of the same.

MAP
SHOWING COURSE
OF
GRIERSONS RAID
Memphis
Collierville
LaGrange
Grand Junction
Corinth
Bryan
Tennessee River
Boone
Lost port
Ripley
1st Day
2nd Day
Hatch
Sooy Smith
New Albany
Baldwyn
Tallahatchie River
Panola
3rd Day
Pontotoc
Tupelo
Verona
Okolona
4th Day
Houston
Aberdeen
Grenada
Hatch
West Point
Columbus
Fort Pemberton
Mississippi Central R.R.
5th Day
Starkville
Forbes
Macon
6th Day
Louisville
Philadelphia
Forbes
Pearl River
Mississippi River
Yazoo River


Decatur
Vicksburg
Jackson
Brandon
Forrest
Morton
Lake
Meridion
Garlandville
Forbes
Enterprise
Grand Gulf
Port Gibson
Bruinsburg
Raleigh
Poulding
Quitman
Fayette
Union Church
Hazlehurst
Byhala
Natchez
Brooknaven
Summit
Magnolia
Woodville
Liberty
Osyka
Clinton
Tangipahoa
Greensburgh
Port Hudson
Williams' Bridge
Baton Rouge
Ponchatoula
Lake Maurepas
LAKE PONCHARTRAIN
New Orleans
Mobile
PEARL RIVER
Pascagoula
Meridian
Southern R.R.
Mobile & Ohio R.R.
Jackson R.R.
Grand River
Amite River
Tickfaw River
Bogue Chitto
Strong River
Ferry
Hollo Bridge
Grierson's
First Adams
11th Day
12th Day
13th Day
14th Day
9th Day
10th Day
13th & 14th Days

I have had, in preparing it, the great advantage of a voluminous manuscript upon the subject, left at his death by my brother, Captain H. C. Forbes, afterwards lieutenant-colonel of his regiment and brevet colonel of volunteers, and I have consulted all the official reports, dispatches, and other papers on the raid printed in the various volumes of the records of the rebellion.* I have also made occasional use of a contemporary personal narrative by a sergeant of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry, Mr. R. W. Surby, published by him in 1865;† and have collected a considerable number of articles from newspapers, northern and southern, printed in the early part of 1863.

During the late winter and early spring of 1863 the center of military interest in the Mississippi valley was at Vicksburg, where all things were shaping themselves towards the tragic climax of the confederate surrender on the following July 4. Grant was about to shift his army, on the west side of the river, by land from Milliken's Bend above that point to Bruinsburg below it, and, crossing the river there, to swing to the north and east through Mississippi, breaking loose from his base of supplies and investing Vicksburg from the rear. Pemberton, at Jackson, was in command of the confederate forces in Mississippi and eastern Louisiana. The confederate General Gardner was at Port Hudson with some 20,000 men, 1,400 of them cavalry‡ and the federal General Augur was at Baton Rouge. Grand Gulf, thirty miles below Vicksburg, was occupied by the confederate General Bowen; Port Gibson, by a small confederate cavalry force under Colonel Wirt Adams;§ and Natchez, by a still smaller one, a part of Adams' regiment, under Captain Cleveland.‖

In central Tennessee the armies under Rosecrans and Bragg were confronting each other at Murfreesboro and Tullahoma, respectively, both slowly recovering from the effects of the battle of Stone River—terrific to victor and victim alike—and each mainly interested, for the time, in keeping the other from reinforcing either Grant on the one hand or Pemberton on the other.

In northern Mississippi and western Tennessee two parties to an approaching conflict were facing each other on either side of the interstate boundary, the northern party strung along the old Memphis and Charleston railroad, from Memphis on the west to Corinth on the east; and the southern party, less compactly formed—rather loosely scattered, indeed—through the northern part of Mississippi, with Panola, on the Tallahatchie, at its western end and Columbus at its eastern. This difference in formation was partly due to the fact that

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*The War of the Rebellion—a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies; Ser. I, vol. XXIV, Parts I and III. Cited in these notes as Reb. rec., vol. 24, pts. I and III; or R. R. 24, pts. I and III.

†Grierson Raids, and Hatch's Sixty-four Days' March, with Biographical Sketches, and the Life and Adventures of Chickasaw, the Scout. By R. W. Surby, Chicago, 1865. Cited here as "Surby". This graphic narrative by a sergeant of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry, well known to the present writer, although marred by many typographical errors, especially in local and personal names, is entirely reliable as to matters which came under the author's personal observation, and commonly so as to events occurring in his immediate neighborhood.

‡Department Returns, March 31, 1863. Reb. rec., ser. I, vol. 24, pt. III, p. 702. But see Gardner to Pemberton, April 29, pt. III, p. 803.

§Col. Wirt Adams to General Pemberton, April 29, 1863. Reb. rec., ser. I, vol. 24, pt. I, p. 533.

‖Report of Capt. S. B. Cleveland, April 28. Reb. rec., ser. I, vol. 24, pt. I, p. 538; and Col. Wirt Adams to Gen. Pemberton, April 29, p. 533.

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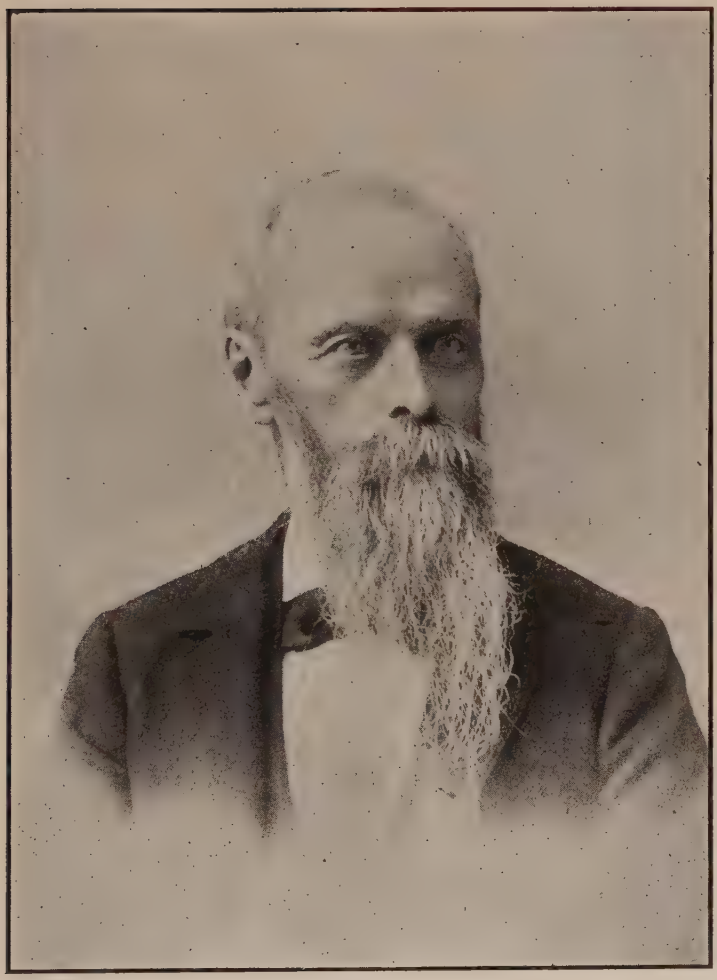

HENRY CLINTON FORBES,

Lieutenant Colonel and Brevet Colonel Seventh Illinois Cavalry. Captain of Company B. at the time of Grierson's Raid.

the confederates were holding two north and south roads, the Mississippi Central and the Mobile and Ohio, while the line held by the federals ran east and west. Hurlbut of Illinois was at Memphis as district commander in charge of the northern line, Dodge was at Corinth and Sooy Smith had his headquarters at Lagrange, about midway between, holding the railroad with some 10,000 men, the Second Iowa and the Sixth and Seventh Illinois Cavalry regiments among them.* Chalmers was in charge of the western part of the confederate forces, with headquarters at Panola, where he had about a thousand cavalry and a battery of artillery;† and Ruggles, at Columbus, was in command of about 2,000 men on the eastern side of the state,‡ both generals taking their orders from Pemberton direct. Chalmers' district extended to New Albany, on the Tallahatchie,§ and his picket line was on that stream to the east, and to the west on the Coldwater, south of Memphis. Ruggles' advance post was at Verona,‖ south of Corinth, with a picket north to Baldwyn, and his district extended west to New Albany. From this point to Panola there was no occupied post, the country being covered only by occasional scouting parties, pickets and patrols. It will be seen that this southern line, if line it can be called, had no common commander corresponding to Hurlbut on the north, and that it had no center guard opposed to Sooy Smith at Lagrange—defects of organization and position to which the subsequent confederate disaster was in great measure due. Northern Mississippi had, indeed, been largely stripped of cavalry in January, when General Van Dorn was sent to eastern Tennessee with 5,000 mounted men to report to Bragg.¶ The famous Forrest was also in Tennessee, at Shelbyville, under Van Dorn's command.

Such was the situation in April, when there swarmed out from the north, suddenly and almost simultaneously, five swiftly moving columns, two of them cavalry raids, and the others feints or diversions made in aid or support of these two. Colonel A. D. Streight, sent by Rosecrans, from Nashville, a long roundabout way, down the Cumberland and up to Tennessee, with about 1,900 men to Eastport, Alabama, left the Tennessee river there and started east and south through northern Alabama to destroy railroads, stores and manufactories. His force was wretchedly mounted, mainly on mules secured after the start, and Forrest's excellent cavalry, dropping down from Shelbyville on his rear, presently overtook and surrounded him and captured his whole command near Rome, Georgia, on the 3d of May. Partly to support Streight's expedition, but mainly to draw the confederate cavalry to the east, away from the line of march of the Grierson raid about to start from Lagrange, Dodge left Corinth for Tuscumbia April 16

*Department returns, April 30, First Div., 16th Army Corps. R. R., I, vol. 24, pt. III, p. 249; see also p. 253.

†Department returns, March 31. R. R., I, vol 24, pt. III, p. 702. See also Hurlbut to Grant April 1, pt. I, p. 27. General Hurlbut estimated Chalmers' force at 1,800 cavalry and one battery. Hurlbut to W. S. Smith, April 10, pt. III, p. 185.

‡R. R., 24, pt. III, p. 702.

§General Orders No. 93. R. R., vol. 24, pt. III, p. 713.

‖Hurlbut to Grant, April 1. R. R., ser. I, vol. 24, pt. I, p. 26.

¶Report of Gen. J. E. Johnston to Adjutant-General Cooper. R. R., vol. 24, pt. I, p. 247. Report of Maj. Wm. D. Blackburn, January 30, pt. I, p. 334. Dodge to Hamilton, Feb. 12, pt. III, p. 46.

with 5,000 men,* met Streight there April 24, went with him to Courtland, in Lawrence county, and returned to Corinth on the 2d of May. The effect of this movement in concentrating Ruggles' cavalry to the north and east is shown by Pemberton's order to Ruggles of April 19, that he should send all his mounted troops towards Corinth to create a diversion in favor of Roddy at Tuscumbia† thus threatened by Dodge.

Simultaneously with these movements at the eastern end of our line, a mixed force of infantry, cavalry and artillery moved south from Memphis to the Coldwater, twenty-five miles away on the Panola road, as if to drive Chalmers from his headquarters;‡ and on the following day another column of three regiments of infantry with a battery of artillery, under Sooy Smith, moved diagonally southwest from Lagrange to the same objective, in the hope of cutting Chalmers off.§ Although the Memphis column failed to cross the Coldwater, and Chalmers eluded Smith, he was kept completely occupied until April 23, when he returned to Panola.

And now, with the thin confederate line in northern Mississippi thus completely pulled apart and piled up at its ends, there suddenly shot down through its abandoned center a slender column of 1,500 cavalry, thrust, like a nimble sword through an unguarded point, into the very vitals of the confederate position.‖ Seasoned soldiers, most of them, well mounted and well armed, fresh from a winter's rest in camp (if cavalry can ever be said to rest), gay with youth and the hope of fresh adventure, with no baggage to encumber them save what was strapped to their saddles, carrying each forty rounds of ammunition, five days' rations and a good supply of salt, they were an exceptionally fit party for a hard and rapid cavalry raid—and hard and rapid this ride was to be, taxing to its limit the physical endurance of nearly every man, and putting a strain on the mental resources of its leaders which doubtless no one else can fully realize.

A cavalry raid at its best is essentially a *game* of strategy and speed, with personal violence as an incidental complication. It is played according to more or less definite rules, not inconsistent, indeed, with the players' killing each other if the game cannot be won in any other way; but it is commonly a strenuous game, rather than a bloody one, intensely exciting, but not necessarily very dangerous. This narrative will consequently be without the grim and gory features of

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*Hurlbut to Halleck, April 18. R. R., vol. 24, pt. III, p. 206.

†Report of Lieut.-General J. C. Pemberton. R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 253.

‡Lauman to Bryan, April 17. R. R., 24, pt. III, p. 203. Hurlbut to Halleck, April 18, p. 206. Bryan to Randall, April 25, pt. I, p. 557.

§Hurlbut to Smith, April 15, par. 2, R. R., 24, pt. III, p. 196. Hurlbut to Kelton, May 5, par. 5 and 6, pt. I, p. 520. Smith to Hurlbut, April 23, p. 555. Hurlbut to Rawlins, April 25, p. 555. Chalmers to Pemberton, April 23, p. 563.

‖See Hurlbut to Rawlins, April 17, 1863. "These various movements along our length of line will, I hope, so distract their attention that Grierson's party will get a fair start and be well down to their destination before they can be resisted by adequate force. God speed him, for he has started gallantly on a long and perilous ride."—R. R., 24, pt. III, p. 202. See also Hurlbut to Rawlins, May 5, 1863. "The movement on Tuscumbia on one side drew attention and gathered their cavalry in that direction, while the movement on Coldwater and Panola drew Chalmers and his band in the other. Thus our gallant soldier, Grierson, proceeded with his command unchallenged." Vol. 24, pt. III, p. 276. Pemberton writes to Johnston, April 29: "Barteau's command gallantly fought and repulsed a column of the enemy at Birmingham" [referring to Hatch.] "Chalmers was occupied with another column from Memphis, moving by the Hernando road, but there was no force to oppose to Grierson's, a well-equipped and well-mounted force." Vol. 24, pt. III, p. 803.

most tales of war, but will tell instead of the rapid march, the subtle ruse, the gallant dash, the sudden surprise, and the quick and cunning retreat which leaves an opponent miles in the rear before he knows that the fight is over.

It was on the 17th of April, 1863,* the day after Dodge's start to the east from Corinth and Bryan's start to the south from Memphis—the day of Sooy Smith's march from Lagrange towards Panola—that the three regiments were set in motion; and just as the sun rose full and fine over a charming expanse of small pine-clad hills, the first brigade, stretching itself slowly out from the little village, slid like a huge serpent into the cover of the Mississippi woods.

In the northern third of the state the streams run southwest into the Mississippi and southeast into the Tombigbee, leaving the second tier of counties from the east as a watershed. Along this watershed the course of the column lay, approximately parallel for about eighty miles to the Mobile and Ohio railroad, distant from twelve to twenty-five miles to the east. As this road was held by Ruggles up to within thirty miles of Corinth, Grierson was particularly exposed, in this stage of his movement, both to flank attack and to pursuit in force sufficient greatly to embarrass and delay, if not finally to defeat, his expedition. It was his first object, consequently, after getting fairly under way, to confuse and mislead the enemy as to the scope and object of his plans and to draw him off, if possible, in pursuit of a detachment thrown out as a decoy, leaving the main column to pursue its way unhindered. On the third day of the raid, after the command had crossed the Tallahatchie at and near New Albany, three detachments were sent out by Grierson in as many different directions—two of them moving against camps of state troops in process of organization, with a view to creating the impression that it was the whole object of the raid to break up these camps.† A demonstration towards one of them at Chesterville, to Grierson's left, drew to that point the attention of Colonel C. R. Barteau,‡ in command of all the confederate cavalry in the northeast part of the state,§ and he marched with a regiment to that place for its defense. If he had followed up the retiring federal detachment, he would have come at once upon Grierson's column; but instead of this he fell back some fifteen miles to the south and east to cover Okolona and Aberdeen, important railroad points which he thought were threatened.‖ Finding that he was not pursued, he moved northwest again to Pontotoc,¶ and learning there that Grierson had already passed to the south,** he immediately gave pursuit with his own regiment, a regiment of state troops, two additional battalions, and three pieces of artillery. That night he

*Grierson to Rawlins, May 5, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 522.
†Grierson to Rawlins, May 5, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 522.
‡Barteau to Hooe, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 534.
§Circular of Adj. B. A. Smith, April 5, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 716.
‖Barteau to Hooe, April 30, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 534.
¶Barteau to Hooe, April 30, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 534. Ruggles to Pemberton, April 20, p. 551.
**The return, April 20 from Pontotoc to Lagrange, of 175 of the least effective men, together with prisoners, led horses, and a single gun of the battery, was managed with the intention of leading any pursuing force to believe that the whole column had turned back. R. R. 24, pt. I, pp. 523, 534. As it had no such consequence, however, I have not mentioned it in the text.

rested for three hours within thirteen miles of Grierson's camp, which he reached next day two hours after Grierson had gone on.*

Then came a lucky stroke of strategy, by which this strong pursuing force was lured away from the track of the column and led no less than fifty miles to the north† in pursuit of a regiment detached by Grierson to return to Lagrange. On April 21, the fourth day of the raid, when about eighteen miles below Houston, the county seat of Chickasaw county, Grierson sent Colonel Hatch with the Second Iowa Cavalry, numbering about 500 men,‡ to the west and south on the West Point road, with orders involving a very ambitious program of capture and destruction for so small a force. Striking the Mobile and Ohio road where it crosses the Okatibbehah near West Point, and destroying the bridge acrosss that stream, Hatch was next to move rapidly south to Macon for the destruction of railroad and government stores, and swinging around to the east and north, was to take Columbus, if possible, to break up the railroad south of Okolona, and then to return to Lagrange.

On hearing of the arrival of the raid at Pontotoc, Ruggles had surmised that its principal object was the destruction of these very railroad bridges at Macon and West Point,§ and had taken his defensive measures accordingly. Pemberton had also ordered troops from Meridian northward to report to Ruggles on the preceding day,‖ and all threatened points were thus more or less thoroughly guarded against attack. Fortunately, perhaps, for Hatch, Barteau's pursuing force was too near to permit him to become very deeply entangled in this dangerous enterprise. Coming, in his pursuit of Grierson, to the point where Hatch and Grierson had parted, Barteau mistook the trail of the Second Iowa for that of the main command. "The enemy divided at this point," he says, "two hundred going to Starkville and seven hundred continuing their march on the West Point road,"¶ whereas the Starkville force was Grierson's column, containing now, after the withdrawal of Hatch, about 950 men.** Following up the Second Iowa Cavalry towards West Point, Barteau overtook it within about five miles and attacked it heavily in rear and on the flanks, the Second Alabama Cavalry barring its way at the same time towards West Point.†† Hatch thus suddenly found himself between two fires; but while Barteau was moving to the right and left, hoping to surround and capture him, he broke through the enveloping line to the rear and, retiring slowly northward, drew the enemy after him in a series of rear-end skirmishes which lasted until the 24th—the eighth day of the raid, and the very one on which Grierson reached the

*Barteau to Hooe, April 30, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 534.

†To Molino, Miss. See Hatch to Harland, April 27, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 531. The force which attacked Hatch at Birmingham was that of Col. Barteau—not that of Chalmers, as Hatch supposed. Barteau to Hooe, April 30, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 536.

‡Grierson to Rawlins, May 5, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 523. Hatch to Harland, April 27, p. 530.

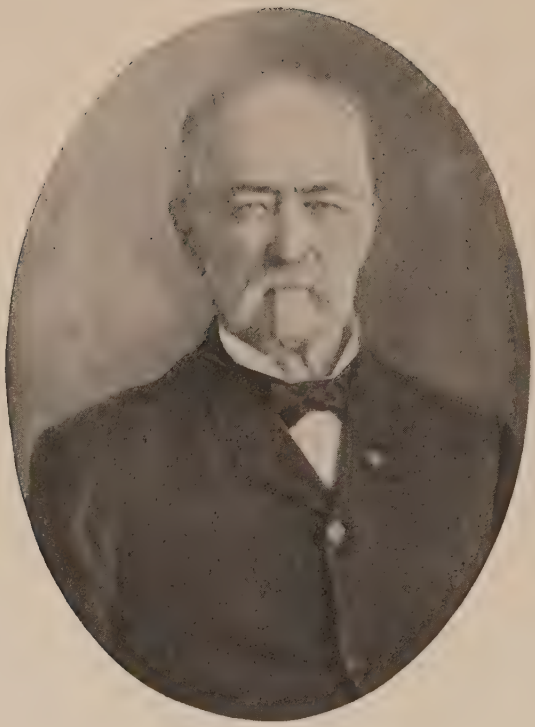
§Ruggles to Memminger, May 13, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 560, par. 2.

‖Pemberton to commanding officer of troops at Meridian, April 22, and Pemberton to Ruggles, April 22, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 776.

¶Barteau to Hooe, April 30, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 534.

**Grierson to Rawlins, May 5, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 523.

††Hatch to Harland, April 27, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 530, par. 4. Cunningham to Ruggles, April 21, p. 552.



JOHN LYNCH,

Colonel Sixth Illinois Cavalry, Captain of Company E. at Time of Grierson Raid.

Meridian and Vicksburg road. Touching the Mobile and Ohio at Okolona, Hatch paused long enough to burn public property there, and finally reached Lagrange on the 26th.*

Freed by this diversion of Barteau from all danger of pursuit, and with no enemy before him or within striking distance upon either flank, Grierson was now well within the line of confederate defense, with no opposing force worth mentioning between him and his goal. His only chance of failure was in a correct interpretation of his movement by Pemberton, and the concentration of troops by rail across his line of march—a danger which induced still further feints against the Mobile and Ohio road, intended to keep confederate attention focused on the protection of that line.

Unable to detach another considerable body for this purpose from his principal force, he sent out on his flank a single company of thirty-five men under Captain H. C. Forbes of the Seventh Illinois,† with orders to approach Macon, on the railroad, and if possible to break the telegraph and the road in its vicinity and rejoin the main command. As this command was to be speeding southward in the meantime at its highest possible rate, the chance was very remote that this little band would ever rejoin their comrades, unless, indeed, in a confederate prison.

Strangely enough, this fragment of a company, ludicrously inadequate to its purpose as it seemed, accomplished quite as much as if it had been ten times at large. Approaching Macon April 22, it spent the night in bivouac within two and a half miles of that town, capturing, from a patrol sent out from Macon as a scout, a prisoner, from whom it was learned that a train of infantry and artillery were hourly expected from the south. This statement is confirmed by the report of Captain John Lynch§ of the Sixth Illinois who, coming out from Louisville and approaching the town next morning by another road, with one companion, both in citizen's dress, found a picket on the road, from whom he learned that the place was held by two regiments of cavalry, a regiment of infantry and a section of artillery.‡

A Macon paper of the following day also reports the arrival, during the night, of two thousand men from Meridian, evidently pursuant to Pemberton's order of this date already mentioned. Except for the disturbance caused by this evening patrol, our little company slept as securely under the trees by the roadside as if protected by impregnable works, its sole defense against capture or death being the wildly exaggerated reports of the strength of the federal column which were

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*Hatch to Harland, April 22. R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 531.
†Grierson to Rawlins, May 5, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 528, par. 2.
‡Grierson to Rawlins, May 5, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 528, par. 4, Surby, p. 39.
§"He went to the pickets at the edge of the town," says Grierson, "ascertained the whole disposition of their forces and much other valuable information, and, returning, joined us at Decatur, having ridden without interruption two days and nights, without a moment's rest. All honor to the gallant captain, whose intrepid coolness and daring characterizes him on every occasion." Captain Lynch, afterwards major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel of the Sixth Illinois Cavalry, now lives at Olney, Illinois.

by this time flying through the country in all directions, growing as they flew. Our own little squad was believed in Macon that night to be the main body of the raid and to consist of 5,000 men.*

Grierson, in the meantime, sped down through Starkville and Louisville on the 22d, secured the bridge across Pearl river by a stratagem of the advance on the morning of the 23d,† passed through Philadelphia, in Neshoba county, at 3:00 p. m., reached Decatur at day dawn of the 24th after an all-night ride, and struck the Meridian and Jackson road at Newton Station, the object of his long swift ride, at 6:00 in the morning of this, the eighth day of the raid.‡ Here two trains of cars were captured and destroyed, one filled with food and ammunition, including several thousand loaded shells, and the other with machinery and railroad ties. Commissary and quartermaster's stores were burned, five hundred stand of arms were broken up, seventy-five prisoners were captured and paroled, and the railroad was wrecked and its bridges were burned (two of them about 150 feet long each) for four and a half miles to the east.§ The seriousness of the blow thus delivered is shown by Pemberton's statement to Gardner that there is danger that his supplies will be cut off,‖ and by his earnest appeal, written six days later to the president of the road, urging him to repair the break in his line with the greatest possible expedition, as a large part of the supplies from the Vicksburg army must thereafter come over this road.¶ Time was indeed precious to him when he wrote, for Grant's advance had just crossed the Mississippi to the Vicksburg side, and in thirteen days more McPherson was at Clinton, between Vicksburg and Jackson, effectually destroying this same road.

The confusion, uncertainty and concern wrought in confederate counsels by this daring raid,** are revealed in the multiplicity of orders sent out and the numerous, complex movements of considerable bodies of infantry, cavalry and artillery made in various parts of the state for the prevention of further mischief and the capture, if possible, of the venturesome party, now isolated in the midst of its foes.

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*"Report made the number about 5,000, but it was reduced to one company of cavalry, numbering about eighty men, which reached the residence of Mrs. Augustine, about two and a half miles from town at daylight [twilight] of Wednesday. They took supper there, and breakfast the next morning, when they ranged to the northwest portion of the county, robbing individuals and houses, in some cases, and providing themselves with what provision they wanted. They crossed the Noxubee at Crawford's bridge, taking with them several citizens as prisoners. Young John Bryson they took while at Mrs. Augustine's place. He ventured within their lines with a gun in his hand and a uniform coat on. He is still a prisoner. * * * Mr. Woodfin's parole we have seen. It is countersigned H. C. Forbes, commanding Co. C, [B,] 7th Regiment, Ill. Vol., U. S. Army * * * There was a very considerable stampede for twenty miles around in this county, the most of those running striking for the Bigbee to cross over into Alabama. Now that they have disappeared the general impression is that while they were near town the whole company could have been captured by fifty well organized men under a proper leader. Mr. Dinsmore rode towards the camp, tied his horse in the woods, and walked to the quarters and inquired of the negroes if the Federals were there. They said they were in the house eating supper. Not ten men could be raised about Macon to attack them. At 3:00 o'clock in the morning 2,000 of our troops came up from Meridian, but they were either not informed of the presence of the Federal company or did not choose to disturb the repose of our quondam friends".—Macon *Beacon*, quoted in Paulding, (Miss.) *Clarion* of May 1, 1863.

†Surby, p. 36.

‡Grierson's report. R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 524.

§Gen. John Adams reports to Pemberton April 25, that eleven bridges had been burned between Newton and Meridian. R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 531. See also Appendix, Note B, extract from the Jackson *Appeal*.

‖Pemberton to Gardner, April 24, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 315.

¶Pemberton to president of Southern Railroad, April 30, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 315.

**"So great was the consternation created by this raid that it was impossible to obtain any reliable information of the enemy's movements, rumor placing him in various places at the same time."—Lieut. General Pemberton's report on the Vicksburg Campaign, R. R., 24, pt. I, p. 253.

Pemberton first learned of the raid three days after its start,* and at once placed all the cavalry north of the Meridian road at the disposal of Ruggles and Chalmers.† Buford's infantry brigade, moving at this time by rail from Chattanooga to Jackson to reinforce Pemberton, was stopped by him at Meridian April 22 and ordered up the road to Ruggles.‡ To intercept the raiders on their return to the north, after their arrival at Newton Station, Featherston's brigade was shifted from Fort Pemberton, on the Yazoo, east to Grenada;§ Tilghman, at Canton, was ordered to mount one of his infantry regiments and sent half his force to meet Grierson if he came back by Carthage,‖ and Chalmers was ordered across the state from Panola to Okolona,¶ with 1,500 men. Ruggles also distributed his mounted troops to head off Grierson if he should return through northeast Mississippi.** On the Meridian line John Adams was moved, with his infantry, cavalry and artillery, from Jackson east to Morton, Forest and Lake;†† Loring was ordered to mount as many men as he could along the Mobile & Ohio road;‡‡ Stevenson, at Vicksburg, was directed to guard the Big Black river bridge and to keep in readiness for immediate movement all troops not absolutely necessary to hold his lines;§§ and the governor of the state was urged to seize at once horses enough to mount a regiment of infantry.‖‖ To prevent an escape of the federal column to the south, Gardner was ordered, April 24, to send his cavalry from Port Hudson east towards Tangipahoa,¶¶ on the present Illinois Central railroad, and Simonton, at Ponchatoula, received similar orders.***

Even the capital of the state was thought by Pemberton to be endangered, and all possible precautions were taken against its capture. An appeal was issued to the citizens of the state to arm and organize for their own defense.††† John Adams wired, April 25, to Johnston, in Tennessee,‡‡‡ by Pemberton's direction, that Pemberton was "sorely pressed on all sides," and urgently desired that 2,000 cavalry be sent from the east to fall on Grierson's rear; and wired also to Buckner, commanding the department of the gulf: "All is lost unless you can send a regiment or two to Meridian. General Pemberton directs me to urge you to send"§§§—an expression of panic and dismay which

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*Pemberton to Johnston, April 29, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 802. Pemberton to Ruggles, April 20, p. 770.

†Pemberton's report, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 252.

‡Pemberton's report, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 253. Pemberton to commanding officer of troops at Meridian, April 22, pt. III, p. 776. Also Pemberton to Thompson, April 22, p. 777.

§Pemberton to Featherston, April 24, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 782. Pemberton's report, pt. I, p. 254. Smith to Hurlbut, April 29, pt. I, p. 521.

‖Pemberton to Tilghman, April 24, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 783.

¶Pemberton's report, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 254. Smith to Hurlbut, April 29, pt. I, p. 521. Pemberton to Chalmers, April 24, pt. III, p. 781. Pemberton to Johnston, April 26, pt. III, p. 789.

**Ruggles to Memminger, May 13, R R. 24, pt. I, p. 561.

††Pemberton to Adams, April 24, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 781. Adams to Pemberton, April 26, p. 789. Portis to Memminger, April 24, pt. I, p. 546.

‡‡Pemberton's report, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 254.

§§Pemberton to Stevenson, April 27, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 794. Taylor to Stevenson, April 25, p. 788.

‖‖Pemberton to Pettus, April 25, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 786.

¶¶Pemberton's report, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 254. Pemberton to Gardner, April 24, pt. III, p. 782.

***Pemberton to Simonton, April 24, pt. III, p. 782. Simonton to Willson, April 30, p. 553.

†††Pemberton to Pettus, April 25, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 787.

‡‡‡Adams to Pemberton, April 25, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 532.

§§§Adams to Pemberton, April 25, R. R. 24, pt. I, p. 532.

Pemberton repudiated, however, and ordered Adams to correct.*

In the midst of all this hurry of orders and mustering and marching of men, Grierson's column, exhausted by its tremendous ride, and with harder riding yet to come, moved slowly south and west on the 24th and 25th, with intervals of rest, and securing one good night's sleep.† Although the main object of the raid was not fully accomplished, its most difficult problem, that of the escape of the command was still to be solved. In entering the state from the north it had in its favor all the advantages of a surprise, and could also count on the enemy's ignorance of the numbers to be met. But surprise was now no longer possible, and the strength of the invading column had by this time been more or less correctly ascertained.

Grierson's instructions, as he interpreted them, left him free to plan his escape according to his own judgment of the circumstances at the time, a fact due to his immediate superior, General William Sooy Smith, through whom Hurlbut's directions were transmitted to him. Hurlbut's written orders to Smith were dated April 10 and April 15,‡ the first a week and the last two days before the start. In the first he says: "Your three regiments of cavalry will strike out by the way of Pontotoc, breaking off right and left, commanding both roads [the Mississippi Central and the Mobile and Ohio], destroying the wires, burning provisions and doing all the mischief they can, while one regiment ranges straight down to Selma or Meridian, breaking the east and west road thoroughly and sweeping back by Alabama." His latest order does not specify the line of Grierson's retreat after the destruction of the Meridian and Jackson road, but nevertheless implies a return to the north by saying, "he may be able to strike Jackson or Columbus."

Sooy Smith and Grierson had previously insisted with Hurlbut, in a conference at Memphis, that it would be far less hazardous for Grierson to push on to Baton Rouge after breaking the Meridian road than to return through Alabama, but Hurlbut did not agree with them and directed a return to the north.§ "This order," Sooy Smith writes me,‖ "I received late in an evening. I slept little that night, and in the morning sent for Grierson and told him to get ready for the raid as soon as possible. He asked me which plan had been adopted, and I told him he was to go to Baton Rouge." It was also understood between them that as soon as Grierson had passed the enemy's lines beyond the Tallahatchie, his communications with headquarters being cut off, he would have discretionary power.¶

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*Pemberton to Adams, April 25, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 785.

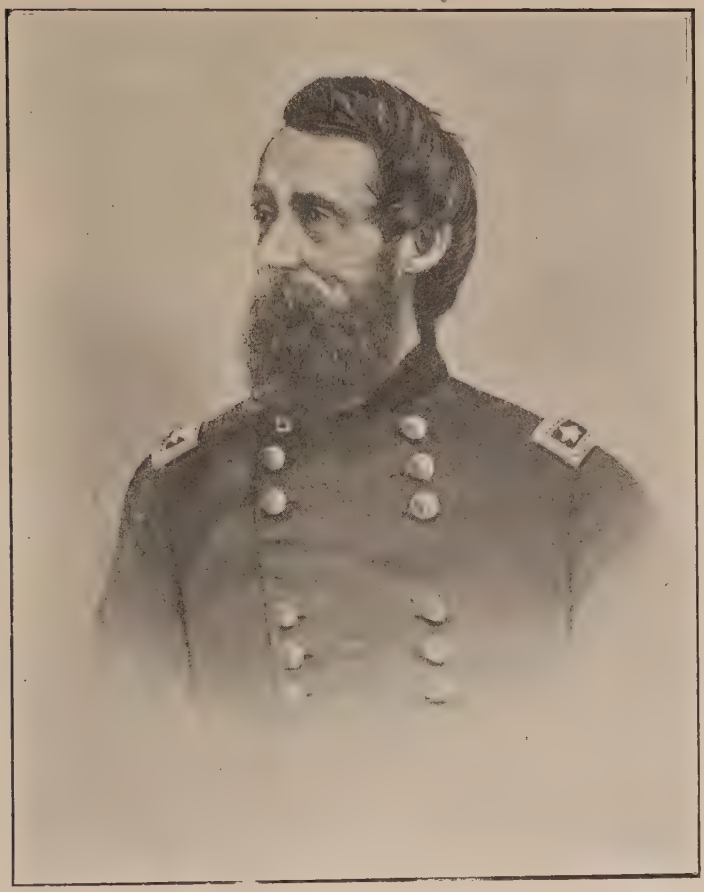
†Grierson's report. R. R. 24, pt. I, pp. 525, 526.

‡Hurlbut to Smith, April 10 and 15, R. R. 24, pt. III, pp. 185 and 196.

§I find an inexplicable inconsistency between Hurlbut's written orders to Smith and his earlier reports, on the one hand, and his latest statements concerning his orders to Grierson, on the other. (See Hurlbut's orders to Sooy Smith, April 10, R. R. 24, pt. III, p. 185. Hurlbut to Halleck, April 18, pt. III, p. 207. Hurlbut to Rawlins, April 29, pt. I, p. 519. Hurlbut to Halleck, April 29, pt. III, p. 247. Hurlbut to Lincoln, May 2, pt. III, p. 264. Hurlbut to Kelton, May 5, pt. I, p. 520.) That Hurlbut fully expected Grierson to return through Alabama is shown by his dispatch, April 29, of a relief column of three regiments under Hatch, from Lagrange toward Okolona and Columbus. (See Hurlbut to Rawlins, April 29, pt. I, p. 519. Sooy Smith to Hurlbut, April 29, p. 521. Hatch to Morgan, May 5, p. 579.)

‖Sooy Smith to S. A. Forbes, Nov. 10, 1905. See Appendix, Note A.

¶Sooy Smith to S. A. Forbes, May 4, 1907. See Note A.



GEN. BENJAMIN H. GRIERSON.

Feeling free, therefore, as he says, "to move in any direction from this point which in my judgment would be best for the safety of my command and the success of the expedition, I at once decided to move south, in order to secure the necessary rest and food for men and horses, and then to return to Lagrange through Alabama or to make for Baton Rouge, as I might thereafter deem best."* Hearing, however, on the 25th that a fight was momentarily expected near Grand Gulf, he decided to make a rapid march in that direction instead, in the "endeavor to get upon the enemy's flank and coöperate with our forces should they be successful in the attack upon Grand Gulf and Port Gibson."† His pursuit of this design carried him west and a little south to cross the New Orleans and Jackson railroad (now the Illinois Central) at Hazlehurst, thirty-three miles below Jackson, on April 27, and to Union Church, in Jefferson county, by the evening of the 28th.

Although he was thus riding for four days approximately parallel to the road along which most of Pemberton's army lay, at distances varying from fifteen miles at the beginning to forty at the end, his march was unobstructed by the enemy until the 28th. Grierson, in his official report, speaks, indeed, of a regiment of confederate cavalry from Brandon, on the Jackson road, fortunately encountered at night while headed directly for his own camp near Raleigh, and sent in the wrong direction by one of his spies;‡ and this same body is referred to in Surby's volume (p. 60) and also in my brother's manuscript, as a cavalry force of 1,800 men which Company B was so fortunate as to evade; but a careful study of the locations and movements of the confederate troops on April 26 shows that this was a cavalry squadron only, headed by Captain R. C. Love, who was ordered by Pemberton on that day to leave Brandon,§ ascertain where Grierson was, and if at Raleigh, to get on his rear, plant ambush and annoy him. Four days later Captain Love and his squadron were still in unsuccessful search of Grierson farther south.‖

It was owing to this midnight apparition of a force supposed to be dangerous, in his rear, that Grierson began burning all bridges as he crossed them,¶ thus abandoning to its fate Company B of the Seventh, which he had evidently now given up for lost.

This gallant little party, it will be remembered, we left asleep by the roadside two and a half miles from Macon, on the night of the 22d. Satisfied, from the reports received, that it could accomplish nothing in the town itself, it undertook the next day to reach and burn the railroad bridge over the Noxubee river, a few miles below. But finding this to be strongly guarded, it marched in the afternoon towards Philadelphia, where it expected to strike Grierson's trail. Riding all night, except for two hours' rest at Pleasant Springs, it

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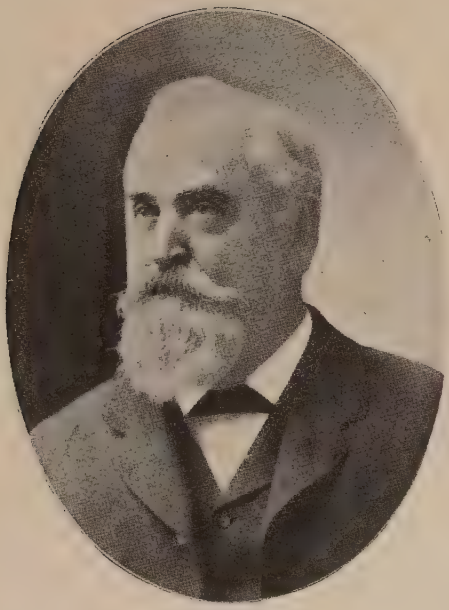
*Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 525.
†Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 525. See also Pemberton to Bowen, April 27, pt. III, p. 792.
‡Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 525.
§Pemberton to Love, April 26, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 791.
‖Pemberton to Love, April 28. Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 798.
¶Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 526.

reached Philadelphia about noon of the 24th, twenty-one hours after the column had passed. A skirmish with a company of home guards, organizing at this place for the pursuit of Grierson, resulted in the capture and parole of about thirty of them, the destruction of their firearms, the appropriation of their very welcome dinner, and the rapid consummation of several horse trades highly advantageous to the federal company, just then very much in need of a remount. As the horses of these home guards had been brought together to overtake Grierson, we gladly took them at their owners' estimate of their fitness for this task—which was also our own.

We traveled always with two or three men, dressed and armed like confederates, riding some distance in advance, to collect information from citizens and to give us warning if they saw any signs of a hostile force. Coming, not far from Philadelphia, to a plantation house by the roadside, we stopped to feed, the bugle blowing the "halt" as a notice to this advance. They did not hear the call, however, and rode on alone. Presently we heard several shots fired far on ahead and knew that our scouts had met an enemy. Hurriedly mounting, we galloped down the road, and within about half a mile, as our horses bolted suddenly to the roadside, we saw one of our men, dead on his back in the middle of the road. His comrades presently came out of the brush, one uninjured, the other with a bullet in his arm. Three stragglers from the confederate army, who had happened to be at a house near by, at which the scouts had stopped for information, charged them —truly enough—with being federal spies. Our men denied the charge, however, and tried to prolong the argument, expecting every moment to see us coming to their support, but the confederates finally fired on them and fled.

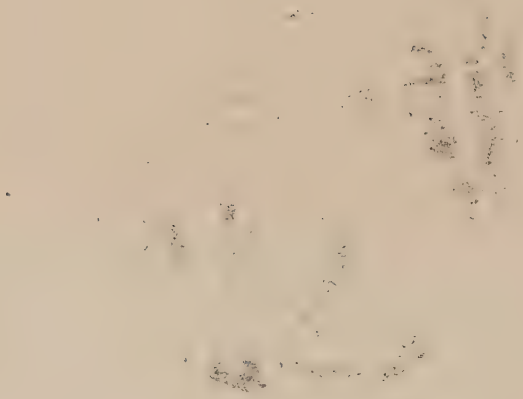
It was a serious moment for us, not merely because we had lost a comrade, but because the men who had killed him were ahead of us and now knew who and what we were. The guerrilla and the bushwhacker and the ambush by the roadside, familiar to us from two years' service in the field, were in all our minds as we rode that day through the thickety woods, scanning every cover and watchful of every turn in the road. We were bound to outride this news of us, and that night we marched without a halt, arriving in the early dawn at Newton Station, still smoking with the fires which Grierson's men had kindled. Grierson had spent the night two miles west of Montrose, about nineteen miles to the south and west from Newton, and he moved the following day only seventeen miles still farther to the south and west, camping near Leaf river, on the Raleigh road. A ride of thirty-six miles on the 25th would thus have brought us to his column. But we had arrived at Newton on the morning of that day, fully fifteen hours after Grierson's rear had passed. We had gained but six hours on him by twenty-four hours of steady riding, and it was evident that it would take us, at this rate, at least two days and nights more to come up with the column.

When Company B was detached towards Macon, its captain was told by the colonel of his regiment, Edward Prince of the Seventh, who gave him his orders, that it was highly probable, though not cer-



EDWARD PRINCE,

Colonel Seventh Illinois Cavalry. Second in Command on the Grierson Raid.



tain, that Grierson, after crossing the Meridian and Jackson road, would swing eastward into Alabama and return to the north through that state; and all information of his movements obtainable at Newton Station confirmed this belief. He had certainly gone on to Garlandville, nine miles south, and it was the prevailing report that he had also reached Baldwyn and Quitman, still farther south and east—the last a station on the Mobile and Ohio road. These facts suggested to Captain Forbes the very sensible plan of cutting off the southward loop which Grierson was believed to be making, by turning directly east from Newton, crossing the Mobile and Ohio at Enterprise, which he was repeatedly told was without defenders, and joining Grierson beyond the railroad as he passed up to the north.

In pursuance of this plan we took the Enterprise road, and reached the outskirts of that town about 1:00 o'clock. What seemed a mounted picket on the main road, driven in by a few shots from our advance, suggested that the place might indeed be occupied, and as the head of our little column entered one of the streets of the town it was fired on from a stockade about the station. Halting for a moment to consider his course, the captain quickly drew his saber, fastened a handkerchief to its point, and ordering the first file of four to follow him, he and his first lieutenant rode slowly down in the direction of the stockade, waving the handkerchief as a flag of truce. The firing presently ceased, and three confederate officers rode out to meet them, one of whom, carrying a white flag at the end of an infantry ramrod, inquired, "To what are we indebted for the honor of this visit?" "I come from Major-General Grierson," answered Captain Forbes, "to demand the surrender of Enterprise." "Will you put the demand in writing?" "Certainly. To whom shall I address it?" "To Colonel Edward Goodwin, commanding the post." This was the information sought for. Enterprise was an occupied post. The demand was written, giving "one hour only for consideration, after which further delay will be at your peril." To the officer's question where he might be found at the end of the hour, Captain Forbes answered with, no doubt, unintended humor, that he would "fall back to the main body and there await the reply."* Then rejoining his company, he quietly turned his column to the right about and moved deliberately up the slope until out of sight of town, when, striking a gallop, we rode rapidly on until a safe distance had been reached.

Enterprise was, in fact, unoccupied until just before we reached it, when the Thirty-fifth Alabama Infantry arrived by train from the south. During the hour allowed for the surrender Major General Loring also came in from Meridian with the Seventh Kentucky and the Twelfth Louisiana,† and at the expiration of the truce these three regiments marched out to offer battle to the thirty-five men of Company B. There could be no doubt that we had done our full duty, for that day at least, in holding the attention of the enemy to the defense of the Mobile and Ohio road.

*This account of the demand for the surrender of Enterprise is taken from the manuscript of Col. Forbes. The writer was a witness of the transaction but remained with the company.

†See Note B, extract from the Jackson *Appeal* of April. 28, 1863.

In Pemberton's report to the war department, prepared some three months afterwards, is the statement that General Loring, by his timely arrival at Enterprise from Meridian with a sufficient force of infantry, succeeded in saving the machinery and other valuable property at that town, upon which the enemy had advanced with a demand for its surrender;* and Major-General Loring reports in a dispatch to Pemberton, dated at Enterprise April 25:† "Enemy appeared here at 1:00 o'clock and demanded the town. They were reported as fifteen hundred strong. Colonel Goodwin was here with the Thirty-fifth Alabama, which defied them. I hastened here with two regiments. Enemy fallen back at least three miles. I am now on the road pursuing them."

It was fortunate indeed for us that Goodwin reached Enterprise before we did ourselves, for we were moving then directly opposite to Grierson's actual line of retreat, and if we had crossed the Mobile and Ohio road in search of him, we should unquestionably have been captured or broken up. As it was, we had lost, by this attempt to shorten our ride, much more than we had gained the preceding day, and we were beginning to despair of overtaking Grierson. A consultation was quietly held among the leading officers as we rode along. Which way should we go? Should we try to return to Lagrange alone? Should we go towards Vicksburg in the hope of getting through to Grant, who might by this time be on our side of the river? Should we try our luck on a march of some hundreds of miles to Pensacola, on the Gulf, then held by federal troops? Should we even break up and scatter, riding north by twos and threes, in the hope that, though some might be taken, the rest would escape? Or should we return to Grierson's trail and make another effort, under new disadvantages, at a direct pursuit? We stood three to one for the last alternative, and so we kept on for Garlandville, which we reached at dusk. As we approached the town our scouts came upon a mounted sentinel, one of a company of sixty men just organized there, well armed and determined to fight if the federals came again that way. He was informed that we were a company of confederates from Mobile, ourselves in pursuit of Grierson, and he considerately rode on in advance, at our suggestion, to advise his comrades of that fact, lest they should mistake us for federals and should fire on us in the dusk. By this ruse we rode without disturbance through the town, although it contained twice our number of armed enemies.

Following now on Grierson's trail once more, we stopped about midnight for four hours' sleep on the lawn about a planter's house, well off the main road, with only one man on guard. It was a carelessly fastened horse, however, which really kept watch for us. Becoming entangled in his halter strap, he pulled down the rail fence to which he was tied, with a crash which wakened the solitary sentinel, who had gone to sleep with his gun in his hands.

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*Pemberton's final report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 253.

†Loring to Pemberton, April 25, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 544. See also Buford to Pemberton, April 25, p. 538.

After a rapid breakfast by the light of our camp fires we started for the hardest and most discouraging ride of the raid. Approaching Raleigh, we repeated in substance the exploit at Philadelphia, surprising, by a headlong charge, a company of home guards which had gathered at the village inn, breaking up their guns and taking their captain with us as a prisoner. We were now but seven or eight hours behind the regiment, and hope began to dawn, when we came to a stream swollen with recent rains. The column had crossed on a bridge, which was now a wreck of blackened timbers. Grierson had given us up as lost and was burning his bridges behind him. Five times that day we swam our horses across overflowing streams, and once were compelled to make a long detour to find a place where we could get into the water and out again.

And then a greater danger loomed ahead of us. Some thirty or forty miles farther on was Strong river, and a few miles beyond that the Pearl, neither of which we could hope to ford or swim; and we were losing time, by reason of the burned bridges, instead of gaining on Grierson. Some way must be found to reach him before he destroyed Strong river bridge or we were lost; and so the captain called for volunteers to ride on and overtake the column. Three of us, who answered the call* mounted on the best and freshest horses of the company, leaving our arms and all encumbrances behind excepting only a pistol apiece and a few loose cartridges in our pockets, left the company at a gallop at about 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon. Captain Forbes says, in his posthumous manuscript: "I never expected to see one of them again, feeling sure that they would be picked off by stragglers." A few miles on the way we saw a group of saddled horses in the brush, a little distance from the road, with no riders in sight. We listened for shots as we hurried by, but they did not come. A little after sundown the trail we were following simply stopped in a grassy field and went no farther. Puzzled at first, we presently suspected a countermarch, and following the trail back through the thickening dusk about half a mile, we found where it branched off to the left. If we had been a little later we should have been completely lost. Black night now fell, with drizzling rain, and we dismounted now and then to make sure, by feeling the road, that we were still on the track of the regiments. And by and by we began to hear through the trees faint sounds of a marching column a mile or so ahead. Pushing our tired horses to their best, we presently drew near Grierson's rear guard. "Halt! Who comes there?" some one called out to us. Ignoring the command, we did not slaken our speed, but answered the challenge as we rode by with a shout of "Company B." Instantly a great cheer arose, "Company B has come back," and, caught up by the rear company, it ran down the column, cheer upon cheer, faster than our horses could run. Great was our welcome when we reached Grierson, just as his horse's hoofs were rattling on Strong river bridge, and repeated to him the vigorous message committed to us: "Captain Forbes presents his compliments, and begs to be allowed to burn his

* First Sergeant S. A. Forbes and Privates John Moulding and Arthur Woods.

bridges for himself." A detail had already been told off to burn the one we were on, and half an hour later we should have been too late.

In the meantime difficulties were thickening around the march of the company we had left. Stopping at sunset to feed, a citizen who professed to know which way Grierson had gone, offered to guide them by a short cut through the woods which would save them several miles of travel. Whether he was blundering or treacherous they never certainly knew, but he led them after dark into an old tornado track, or windfall, as it is called; and there, twisting and turning, this way and that, through the tangle of fallen tree trunks, they lost, not only their way, but all sense of direction likewise. Some of the men begged, in his hearing, to be allowed to kill the guide, and terror reduced him to temporary idiocy. There was nothing to do but to bivouac in the rain and wait for morning to come. Every one went to sleep, guards and all, and when the captain awoke at dawn, their guide had abandoned them and their prisoners had escaped, bearing with them, of course, news of the company's numbers, whereabouts, and predicament. By a rapid scout after daylight they discovered the trail of the column, and once more rode steadily on in the hope that their messengers of the day before had not failed in their mission. About the the middle of the afternoon of that day, April 27, the company reached Strong river and found there a detachment of their regiment, left behind to guard the bridge and await their coming. Company B had rejoined the main command.

It was absent from the column five days and four nights, during which time it marched about three hundred miles in ten different counties and kept the attention of the enemy fixed on the defense of the Mobile and Ohio road. It captured and paroled forty prisoners, confronted and evaded several regiments of confederate troops at Macon and at Enterprise, slipped through the home guards of six county towns, was twice misled and once lost, and had five bridges burned in its front, and in three successive nights it had in all but six hours' sleep, while rations for man and horse were, for the most part, conspicuous by their abscence. We simply had not had time to eat.

The main body was still engaged, on April 27, in crossing Pearl river by means of a single small ferry-boat captured in the nick of time by a shrewd stratagem* the night before. When Grierson stopped on the evening of the 26th two miles beyond Westville for about two hours' rest, he sent Colonel Prince with two battalions of his regiment forward to the Pearl river ferry to secure the crossing of the column by the only means available. Arriving before daylight, Prince found that the ferry-boat was on the opposite side of the stream. An attempt to secure it by sending a man across on a powerful horse failed because the swollen stream was too swift to swim, but a little later the owner, strolling down to the river and seeing a group of horsemen on the bank, called out to them to know if they wished to cross. In a pronounced form of the southern dialect, made more convincing by a military oath, Colonel Prince demanded his boat to carry over a detach-

*Surby, p. 64.

ment of the First Alabama Cavalry in pursuit of conscripts. The ferryman hurried the boat over to our side of the stream, and the crossing at once began. Half an hour later a confederate courier appeared with orders to the ferryman to destroy his boat to prevent its falling into Grierson's hands.* Crossing twenty-four horses at a trip, Prince went with the first 200 men to seize Hazlehurst, on the New Orleans and Jackson road. Grierson's men, in the meantime, worked their passage over the Pearl, the rear guard crossing, along with Company B, about 2:00 p. m. of the 27th.

It was on the afternoon of the 28th, while approaching Union Church, that Grierson first found his march resisted; and here a dangerously complicated situation developed, from which all parties concerned escaped with remarkably good luck. Great destruction of rolling stock, ammunition, stores and railroad track had been wrought at Hazlehurst as the column passed on the preceding day,† and a battalion was sent back the next morning under Lt. Col. Trafton, of the Seventh, to destroy the road at Bahala a few miles further south.‡ At 2:00 p. m. of this day Grierson was attacked at Union Church by three companies of cavalry, which had come out from Natchez under Captain Cleveland;‡ and Wirt Adams, making a forced march from Port Gibson, under Pemberton's orders of the preceding day,§ with four more cavalry companies and two pieces of artillery, came into the Natchez road that same afternoon, in Grierson's rear.‖ While following him up after dark with a view to a night attack. Adams's own rear was encountered by the battalion sent to Bahala earlier in the day, and now marching to rejoin Grierson.¶ Both federal and confederate, were thus cut in two, each by the other, and both Grierson and Adams were in a sense, between two fires. Adams was in the greater danger, however, because either section of the federal column was stronger than his own command, and so he rode in the night past Grierson's flank and joined Cleveland in his front.

It was no part of Grierson's plan to wait anywhere for anything—not even to fight—for the moment he did so his position would become a rallying point for all confederate forces, near and far. The next morning, consequently, after moving strongly out on the Natchez road to create the impression that he was about to force his way through, he suddenly reversed his movement, took a labyrinthine course, by unfrequented roads, to the rear, and by night was below Brookhaven, on the New Orleans and Jackson railroad, some forty miles away.** Wirt Adams, in the meantime, had fallen back before Grierson's advance in the morning, to Fayette, where, reinforced by five more companies, he awaited an attack.†† One can imagine the

*Grierson's report. R.R., 24, pt. I, p. 526.
†Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 526.
‡Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 526.
§Pemberton to Bowen, April 27, Reb. rec. 24, pt. III, p. 792.
‖Wirt Adams to Pemberton, April 29, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 533. Cleveland to operator at Fayette, April 28, p. 538.
¶Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 526. Surby, pp. 78—94.
**Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, pp. 526, 527.
††General Grierson, who is living now at Jacksonville, Ill., lately told the writer that he made use of a captured citizen to convey to Colonel Adams information of his intention to fight his way through to Natchez. This gentleman, temporarily detained at headquarters, was permitted to overhear conversations and orders, made merely to deceive him, all implying a march for Natchez the next morning; and later a guard, instructed to be negligent, permitted him to slip away and escape.

chagrin with which this bold and energetic cavalry leader dispatched the facts to Pemberton that afternoon, expressing his intention to march at once to intercept Grierson on his way to Baton Rouge,* an intention which, indeed, he came near accomplishing, but in which he finally failed, owing to the start we had gained and to the extraordinary speed with which our last march was made.†

The next day, the 30th, was a hard day, for the New Orleans and Jackson railroad—now the Illinois Central—which was about as badly wrecked from Brookhaven‡ to Summit, a distance of twenty-one miles, as any road could well be in so short a time.§ This was the day on which the advance of Grant's army, under McClernand, crossed the Mississippi to Bruinsburg for the attack on Port Gibson, made on the first of May. If Grierson had pressed forward on his march towards Grand Gulf, he might have joined McClernand at Port Gibson, then distant only thirty miles, provided that he had beaten Wirt Adams's ten companies of cavalry and section of artillery in his front, together with the reinforcements that might have come to them on the way. He had heard nothing from Grant, however, and had no means of knowing that McClernand was to come to our side of the Mississippi on the following day.

In the meantime confusion ruled the councils of our enemies. Interruption of communications by the destruction at Hazlehurst on the 27th‖ had left Pemberton in doubt as to Grierson's course, and he vacillated, consequently, in his conjectures, between Grand Gulf, Jackson, Natchez, and Baton Rouge. On the 27th he notified Bowen, at Port Gibson, that Grierson might be making for Grand Gulf to fall on his rear; and again that Port Gibson or Black River bridge was his most probable destination.¶ On the 28th he wrote Bowen again that he had reason to believe that Grierson was striking for Natchez or Baton Rouge;** to Major Clark that the enemy might pay the confederates a visit at Brookhaven;†† to Rhodes, at Osyka, that Grierson was probaby makng for Baton Rouge or Natchez‡‡ to Gardner, at Port Hudson, that he was probably *en route* for Natchez, but that measures should be taken to ambuscade him if he was on his way to Baton Rouge.§§ He gave orders to Bowen at Grand Gulf, to send his cavalry out to get on Grierson's flank and rear;‖‖ to the command-

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*Wirt Adams to Pemberton, April 29, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 533.

†On the night of April 30, Wirt Adams was within five miles of Grierson's bivouac. (See page 118.)

‡It fell to the writer, acting under orders from Col. Prince, to burn the railway station at Brookhaven, containing a considerable quantity of commissary stores reported to us to be confederate property. The flames and sparks from the station building greatly endangered neighboring dwellings, but these were saved and a general conflagration was prevented by our own soldiers, who climbed to the roofs of the houses and kept them wet by pouring water over them until the fire had burned down.

§Grierson's report. Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 527.

‖Pemberton to Bowen, April 28. Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 797.

¶Pemberton to Bowen, April 27, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 792.

**Pemberton to Bowen, April 28, R. R., 24, pt. III, p. 797.

††Pemberton to Clark, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 798.

‡‡Pemberton to Rhodes, April 28, Reb., rec., 24, pt. III, p. 799.

§§Pemberton to Gardner, April, 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 798.

‖‖Pemberton to Bowen, April 27, R. R., 24, pt. III, p. 792. Pemberton to Stevenson, April 27, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 794.

ing officers at Brookhaven,* Hazlehurst,† and Osyka† to send their troops as rapidly as possible towards Grand Gulf; to Capt. William Wren, at Monticello, to learn the position of the enemy and to ambuscade and annoy him, particularly in his camp at night (R. R. Pt. III; p. 793); to Colonel Russel, at Jackson, to have his three mounted companies ready to move, with five days' rations, at 9 p. m.;‡ to Colonel Reynolds,§ to Colonel Farrell,‖ at Lake Station, to General Loring¶ at Meridian, and to General Tilghman** to bring their commands to Jackson; and to Ruggles at Columbus,†† to be on the watch for federal forces coming south—although he had ordered Barteau, the preceding day, to come down from northeast Mississippi to Hazlehurst, on the New Orleans and Jackson road.‡‡ Wholly uncertain as to Grierson's objective point, he thus tried to guard all points at once, as well as he could with his small and scattered forces; and reiterated to his cavalry commanders the orders to get on the flank and rear of the federal column, in the evident hope of so delaying its march as to enable him to concentrate against it a superior force.§§ All was in vain, however, and the flying column sped on its way untouched, and almost unseen, by its swarming enemies.

And now we approach the second crisis of the raid, the event of which was to show whether or not its brilliant success had been won at a cost of the loss of the raiding force. It was the first day of May. Six days before, and three times thereafter, Gardner, at Port Hudson, had been warned by Pemberton to prepare to capture Grierson if he should attempt to go through to Baton Rouge.‖‖ The focus of danger was Williams' bridge¶¶ across the Amite river, directly east of Port Hudson, and only some thirty miles from Gardner's army. If this bridge, over an unfordable stream which must be crossed to reach Baton Rouge, were either destroyed or held, the hunt was up and the raiders would probably be bagged; and when, at Summit, on the 30th, Grierson finally decided to make the dash for Baton Rouge,*** he was even then more than twice as far from the Amite river bridge as was Gardner at Port Hudson.

The southern part of the State was now swarming with cavalry troops—sent northeast from Port Hudson,††† sent south by rail from Jackson and Meridan,‡‡‡ coming north from Ponchatoula,§§§ and speeding diagonally down from Natchez and Port Gibson.‖‖‖ As early

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*Pemberton to Clark, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 798.
†Pemberton to Commanding Officer of Cavalry, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 798.
‡Taylor to Russell, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 799.
§Pemberton to Reynolds, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 799.
‖Pemberton to Farrell, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 798.
¶Pemberton to Loring, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 798.
**Pemberton to Tilghman, April 28, Reb. rec. 24, pt. III, p. 800.
††Pemberton to Ruggles, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 799.
‡‡Pemberton to Reynolds, April 27, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 794.
§§Pemberton's orders to Bowen, Clark, commanding officer of cavalry, Porter, Powell and Rhodes, April 28. Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, pp. 797-799.
‖‖Pemberton to Gardner, April 24, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 782. April 25, pt. III, p. 786. April 27, pt. III, p. 793. April 28, pt. III, p. 798.
¶¶Grierson's report, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 527. Garland to Willson, May 1, pt. I, p. 543.
***Grierson's report, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 527.
†††De Baun to Willson, May 6, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 539.
‡‡‡Richardson to Pemberton, May 3, reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p.547.
§§§Simonton to Willson, April 30, reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 553.
‖‖‖Wirt Adams to Pemberton, May 5, reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 533.

as the 28th, before Grierson had reached Union Church, eleven companies were operating along the New Orleans and Jackson Road above Osyka.* A legion of infantry, with artillery, left Port Hudson on the 29th, the day Grierson passed Brookhaven, but committed the error of moving northeast to Clinton, and thence still northeast to Osyka, which it reached on the first day of May,† after Grierson had passed.‡

Richardson, coming down from the north by rail with 470 men, and leaving the cars at Hazlehurst on the 29th followed Grierson's trail to Union Church, and back again to Brookhaven, and then, riding all night, planned an attack on Grierson at Summit for the morning of May 1, but, entering this place at three a. m., he found himself nine hours too late. Thence he rode on—past Grierson's flank as he supposed, to get in his front—and formed an ambuscade at sunrise in the woods by the side of the road, between Summit and Magnolia, only to learn at nine o'clock that his enemy had spent the night a dozen miles to the west.§ Wirt Adams, in the meantime, leaving Fayette on the afternoon of the 28th and following on our trail, had camped on this same night of the 30th, ten miles from Summit, on the Liberty road‖—evidently about five miles from Grierson's own camp. He is said to have sent Lieutenant Wren forward with orders to burn Williams' bridge across the Amite,‖ with the intention of following on himself the next day to cut off the federal column at that point.

Only two of all these swarming cavalry commands succeeded in reaching Grierson's line of march in advance of Grierson himself. To Major J. DeBaun, of the Ninth Louisiana Partisan Rangers (Wingfield's battalion) belongs the honor of having planted himself in the way of the advancing column and made a bold attempt to delay its march. Leaving Port Hudson April 28, under orders from General Gardner,¶ he went at first north to Woodville, and being then ordered east to Osyka, he started for that point on the morning of the 30th, and reached a bridge over the Tickfaw river, locally known as Wall's bridge, about eight miles from his place of destination, at 11:30 a. m. of May the first.** While he was halting to rest his men and horses, Grierson's column, which had struck the road behind him at about ten o'clock, came upon his rear guard at this bridge.†† Some firing upon foragers from his command warned him of Grierson's approach, and gave him time to place his 115 men in ambush in the woods beyond the bridge. While a squad of our scouts, dressed in citizen's clothing and riding some distance in advance, were beguiling and capturing De Baun's rear guard, by whom they were supposed to be confederates, Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburn, of the Seventh Illinois, impatient of delay, came galloping down alone, and ordering the scouts

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*Pemberton to Bowen, April 28, Reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 797.

†Miles's legion reached the Tickfaw river at Wall's bridge, five hours after Grierson had gone on. A wounded Federal soldier, who saw it pass his window, estimated its strength at three hundred cavalry, two thousand infantry, and a battery of artillery. (Surby, p. 153.)

‡Gardner to Pemberton, April 28, Reb. rec., pt. I, p. 542. Miles to Willson, May 5, pt. I, p. 545. Willson to Gardner, Special Orders, No. 121, April 29, pt. III, p. 805.

§Richardson to Pemberton, May 3, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 548.

‖Richardson to Pemberton, May 3, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 549.

¶Willson, Special Orders, No. 120, April 28, reb. rec., 24, pt. III, p. 800.

**De Baun to Willson, May 6, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 539.

††Surby. p. 104, ff.

to follow him, dashed upon the bridge. This drew the fire of the secreted party, not more than fifty yards away. The colonel fell mortally wounded, and the leader of the scouts was shot through the thigh. Grierson's advance guard of a dozen men also charged across the bridge, but were driven back by a volley, leaving one killed and two wounded behind them. Two of Grierson's companies were thereupon dismounted, two cannon were brought up, and DeBaun's force was soon dislodged, and sent flying to Osyka, which place it reached at five p. m. The federal loss at this, the most important skirmish of the raid, was one man killed and five men wounded—two of them mortally—and three men left as volunteer prisoners, to care for their wounded comrades.* De Baun's own loss was a captain, lieutenant, and six men, all taken prisoners.†

Half a dozen miles farther down, a company of Mississippi cavalry which was about to enter the road in front of the column was attacked by our advance and presently driven off.‡ Major W. H. Garland, who was in charge of this party, makes the surprising statement, in his report of the skirmish, that he lost about seventy men, and that his horses were "all broke down."§ These losses must have occurred after the fighting was over.

In this exciting and somewhat ominous manner the long last ride began. When we started that morning at early dawn from our bivouac between Summit and Liberty, we were seventy-six miles from Baton Rouge,‖ and it was not in any one's mind that we should halt for either food or rest before a place of safety had been reached. Even a little fight may mean a long delay, and delays just then were peculiarly dangerous. And so, with the speed of the horses set at the highest pace which they were likely to be able to keep to the end, we forged ahead, not so much to defeat as merely to outride our enemies. And still we had to pass the Amite river bridge, which might be held by a superior force, for all that we knew, or it might already be burned. From our right, as we approached it, there came to our ears from time to time, through the moonless night, the dull boom of a big gun, giving us the direction of Port Hudson, then being bombarded by the federal mortar-boats. We knew that there had lately been a picket at the Amite bridge, with its headquarters at a plantation half a mile away. Was this picket post still there, and would they learn of our approach and set fire to the bridge? About twelve o'clock we were in its immediate neighborhood, and the advance dashed down. A single horseman was moving quietly southward from the bridge, towards the lights of the premises said to be the headquarters of the guard. They had not even suspected our approach; and in a few minutes, just as the moon rose to light us on our way, the muffled thunder of our horses' feet resounded from its entire length.

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*Grierson's report, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 527. Surby, p. 112.
†De Baun to Willson, May 6, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 540.
‡De Baun to Willson, May 6, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 540. Surby, p. 114.
§Garland to Willson, May 1, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 543.
‖Grierson's report, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 528.

We were over the Amite, and the worst crisis of the raid was past. All the more heavily, as the excitement of danger died away, there settled down on the hearts of the raiders the overwhelming sense of hunger and fatigue. There were still some thirty miles to ride before we might halt to eat and rest, and I am sure that no one who rode them will ever forget that night. It was the painful duty of the rear guard of the column not only to keep alert themselves but also to keep the men from straggling. The captain of that company says: "Men by the score, and I think by fifties, were riding sound asleep in their saddles. The horses excessively tired and hungry, would stray out of the road and thrust their noses to the earth in hopes of finding something to eat. The men, when addressed, would remain silent and motionless until a blow across the thigh or the shoulder should awaken them, when it would be found that each supposed himself still riding with his company, which might perhaps be a mile ahead. We found several men who had either fallen from their horses, or dismounted and dropped on the ground, dead with sleep. Nothing short of a beating with the flat of a saber would awaken some of them. In several instances they begged to be allowed to sleep, saying that they would run all risk of capture on the morrow. Two or three did escape our vigilance, and were captured the next afternoon.*

While the rear of the column was thus drifting along through the night, more than half asleep, the advance, probably two miles in the lead, had its welcome aids to wakefulness in the complete surprise and capture of two confederate camps, each with about forty men—one at the crossing of the Big Sandy, and the other at a ford of the Comite, only a few miles out from our destination.†

Between eight and nine o'clock we were met by a cavalry company scouting out from Baton Rouge to learn the meaning of a rumor which had reached their camp that an important force was nearing the city. They knew nothing whatever of the raid, and were slow to believe our tale, as was also General Augur, then in command of the post. It was not until we had been in bivouac three hours ,and after Grierson had visited post headquarters, that we were admitted to the federal lines and to the protection of the flag. As we rode at last through Baton Rouge, the streets were banked for a mile or more on either side with cheering crowds of citizens of the town and the soldiers of Augur's army, and the wayworn but triumphant column was brought to bivouac in a beautiful magnolia grove to the south of the city. It was pathetically significant of the stress and strain of the long hard ride, particularly on those responsible in any way for its successful issue, that the hero of the Enterprise episode, the captain of Company B of the Seventh, went suddenly delirious the next morning, as he lay resting by his camp fire, and was taken with cautious violence to the post hospital, tearing the curtains from the ambulance on the way, and swearing that we might kill him if we would but we could never take him prisoner.

And now the raid thus briefly described, it only remains for me to quote, from official reports, federal and confederate, a few comments

*MSS. of Col. H. C. Forbes.

†Grierson's report, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I. pp. 527, 528. Bryan to Miles, May 10, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 537.

on its methods and on some of its more general results. Colonel Wirt Adams, who, it will be remembered, was left in the lurch by Grierson, at Fayette, April 29, wrote to Pemberton May 5:* "I pursued the cavalry to a point near Greensburg, in Louisiana, near which they forded the Amite river and made good their escape to Baton Rouge. Notwithstanding I marched over fifty miles per day, and moved during day and night, yet owing to the distance I had to traverse from west to east to reach the line of their march, and to their use of the most skillful guides and unfrequented roads, I found it impossible, to my great mortification and regret, to overhaul them. During the last twenty-four hours of their march in this state they traveled at a sweeping gallop, the numerous stolen horses previously collected furnishing them relays." Lieutenant-Colonel Gannt, who also failed in the pursuit, writes, May 4:† "The enemy managed so as to completely deceive the citizens and our scouts as to his purposes, and, by a march of almost unprecedented rapidity, moved off by the Greensburg road to Baton Rouge." Colonel E. V. Richardson, another failure in pursuit, says, May 3:‡ "He has made a most successful raid through the length of the state of Mississippi and a part of Louisiana, one which will exhilarate for a short time the fainting spirits of the northern war party;" and General Pemberton says in his final report:§ "The enemy * * * succeeded in destroying several miles of the track of the Southern Railroad west of Chunkey river, which, for more than a week, greatly delayed the transportation of troops, and entirely prevented that of supplies (except by wagons) from our depots on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad."

Grierson himself says of the raid:‖ "During the expedition we killed and wounded about 100 of the enemy, captured and paroled over 500 prisoners, many of them officers, destroyed between 50 and 60 miles of railroad and telegraph, captured and destroyed over 3,000 stands of arms, and other army stores and government property to an immense amount; and also captured 1,000 horses and mules. * * * We marched over six hundred miles in less than sixteen days. The last twenty-eight hours we marched seventy-six miles, had four engagements with the enemy, and forded the Comite river, which was deep enough to swim many of the horses. During this time the men and horses were without food or rest."

General Grant says, May 3:¶ "Colonel Grierson's raid from Lagrange through Mississippi has been the most successful thing of the kind since the breaking out of the Rebellion. * * * * The southern papers and southern people regard it as one of the most daring exploits of the war. I am told the whole state is filled with men paroled by Grierson." And again, May 6:** "He has spread excitement

*Adams to Pemberton, May 5, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 533.
†Gannt to Willson, May 4, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 540.
‡Richardson to Pemberton, May 3, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 550.
§Pemberton's report, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 253.
‖Grierson's report, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 528.
¶Grant to Halleck, May 3, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 33.
**Grant to Halleck, May 6, Reb. rec., 24, pt. I, p. 34.

throughout the state, destroying railroads, trestleworks, bridges, burning locomotives and railway stock, taking prisoners, and destroying stores of all kinds. To use the expression of my informant, 'Grierson has knocked the heart out of the state.'" And finally, July 6, in his report to the War Department on the Vicksburg campaign, he writes:* "In accordance with previous instructions, Major-General S. A. Hurlbut started Colonel (now Brigadier-General) B. H. Grierson with a cavalry force from Lagrange, Tennessee, to make a raid through the central portion of the state of Mississippi, to destroy railroads and other public property, for the purpose of creating a diversion in favor of the army moving to the attack on Vicksburg. * * * This expedition was skillfully conducted, and reflects great credit on Colonel Grierson and all of his command. The notice given this raid by the southern press confirms our estimate of its importance. It has been one of the most brilliant cavalry exploits of the war, and will be handed down in history as an example to be imitated."

Long may it be before it falls to an American soldier to imitate this feat of war; but it seems to fall particularly to this society to hand it down in history.

Appendix.

NOTE A.

Inception of Plans and Preliminary Orders for the Raid.—Various plans for a raid similar to the one finally decided on were suggested in February and March, 1863, after the withdrawal of Van Dorn's command from Northern Mississippi late in January left the confederate railroads of that part of the state comparatively unprotected. The first recorded mention of an expedition of this kind was made to General Hurlbut by General C. S. Hamilton, writing at Memphis February 12: "It is the time to strike the Vicksburg and Jackson Road. I would recommend that a brigade of cavalry move from Lagrange around the headwaters of the Tallahatchie and Yalabusha, making as much of a demonstration as possible about Pontotoc; then the main body to retire, and a single regiment, under a dashing leader—say, Hatch—move to the south as rapidly as possible, taking fresh horses from the country, and push night and day direct for Jackson. * * * * The bridge over the Pearl river could be destroyed, as well as all the railroad shops and rolling stock, and a dash made at the Big Black river bridge, which, if destroyed, will completely isolate Vicksburg from the interior. After getting round the headwaters of the Yalabusha, the route should be as nearly as possible along the line of the Mississippi Central Road." (R. R., Ser. I., Vol. 24, Pt. III., p. 45.)

A similar idea had occurred to General Grant, who wrote to Hurlbut from Lake Providence, La., February 13: "It seems to me that Grier-

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*Grant to Kelton, July 6, Reb. rec. '24, pt. I, p. 58.

son, with about 500 picked men, might succeed in making his way south and cut the railroad east of Jackson, Miss. The undertaking would be a hazardous one, but it would pay well if carried out. I do not direct that this shall be done, but leave it for a volunteer enterprise." (R. R., Ser. I., Vol. 24, Pt. III., p. 50.)

Hamilton's proposal was followed up by Hurlbut in a letter to Rawlins (Grant's adjutant-general) written February 16, evidently before he had received Grant's own letter of three days' earlier date. After reporting Van Dorn's withdrawal from his front with four brigades of cavalry and two batteries, he continues: "As I am satisfied this will remove all cavalry from our front, at the suggestion of General Hamilton, I have ordered Grierson's brigade to cross the headwaters of the Tallahatchie to the Yalabusha, by way of Pontotoc, cut the wires, destroy bridges and demonstrate in that neighborhood, while the Second Iowa Cavalry, Colonel Hatch, pushes night and day toward the main road between Meridian and Vicksburg, if possible to destroy the bridge across Pearl river, in rear of Jackson, and do as much damage as possible on that line, returning by the best course they can make. It appears perilous, but I think it can be done and done with safety, and may relieve you somewhat at Vicksburg." (R. R., Ser. I., Vol. 24, Pt. III., p. 58.)

In consequence of information received, February 20, of the presence of considerable bodies of confederate troops in central Mississippi, Hamilton suspended this movement, and Hurlbut, acquiescing, so reported to Grant. (R. R., Ser. I., Vol 24, Pt. III., pp. 62 and 63.) March 9 General Grant expressed a qualified disapproval of this postponement, saying, "I regret that the expedition you had fitted out was not permitted to go. The weather, however, has been so intolerably bad ever since that it might have failed." In the same connection he described a plan of his own for a raid to start from Lagrange, under Grierson—"as being much better qualified to command this expedition than either Lee or Mizner"—to cut the railroad east of Jackson, afterward rejoining a still larger force which should operate in the meantime against the Mobile and Ohio Road. (R. R., I., 24, Pt. III., p. 95.)

A somewhat similar scheme had meanwhile been discussed by the two officers most concerned in its execution, General William Sooy Smith, commander, at the time, of the First Division of Hurlbut's Sixteenth Army Corps, and Colonel B. H. Grierson in command of the First Cavalry Brigade, both these officers having their headquarters at Lagrange. Smith's plan, although directed to the same end as the others, differed from them especially in the fact that he wished the raiding column, after destroying the railroad east of Vicksburg, to avoid the confederate forces certain to concentrate against its return to Lagrange by pushing south to Baton Rouge; and Grierson agreed with Smith that this seemingly bolder course would be much the less hazardous. At a protracted conference "lasting until after midnight" held by them with Hurlbut, at Memphis, some time during the latter part of March,* they failed to convince Hurlbut of the superior ad-

*Smith says "about three weeks," before the receipt of Hurlbut's formal orders, issued April 10.

vantages of their plan, and his orders to Smith of April 10 specifically directed a return through Northern Alabama. Confidently believing that Hurlbut's judgment was in error, Smith assumed the grave responsibility of personally ordering Grierson to go through to Baton Rouge, advising him at the same time that as soon as his connections were broken he was free to use his own discretion in meeting emergencies as they might arise, and that, after effecting his main purpose, he should go south or return to the north, as he might judge to be the most expedient. A letter from General Smith to the writer, dated May 4, 1907, upon which especially this statement is based, is as follows:

"Hurlbut's order to me April 10, his letter to Rawlins, and his final order to me April 16, specifically or by fair inference directed Grierson to return by way of north Alabama, and his orders were so understood by him and me. Grierson's brigade was part of my command guarding the Memphis and Charleston and other railroad lines, and repairing them whenever they were injured by the enemy holding the south bank of the Tallahatchie river, running east and west nearly parallel with the Memphis and Charleston Road and about forty miles further south.

"The rebel raiders, Forrest and Chalmers, made frequent forays, striking the railroad between the points garrisoned by our troops, tearing it up and then retreating beyond the Tallahatchie before they could be overtaken by our cavalry sent in pursuit. I determined, if I could get the consent of my superior officers, to turn the tables on them by sending our cavalry to the rear of their army and raiding their lines of communication, letting them have the fun of doing the chasing.

"Having talked the matter over with Grierson, who strongly approved the idea, we went to Memphis and discussed it with General Hurlbut during a long conversation at which Grierson was present. Hurlbut disapproved of the movement through to Baton Rouge, as too rash and hazardous. I urged it strenuously on the ground that it was far less dangerous to go on through than to attempt to return; which would bring him right into the hands of Forrest's and Chalmers' combined forces pursuing him. Grierson agreed with me and expressed full confidence in his ability to go through to Baton Rouge as we had planned.

"Hurlbut could not be convinced, and about three weeks later sent me the final orders referred to by you. [Order of April 10.] When I showed these orders to Grierson we were sorely puzzled, feeling that the raid as we had planned it promised almost certain success, and that it would spread consternation throughout the rebel territory, while any attempt to return by way of north Alabama would almost certainly end in disastrous failure.

"I finally said to Grierson that Hurlbut's order was directed to me and that he was not supposed to know what it was, that he would go in obedience to the orders I should give him, and that I would take the responsibility and order him to go straight through to our army at Baton Rouge. If he succeeded, no questions would be asked; and if he failed, I would take the consequences and should probably be cashiered for disobedience of orders.

"At all events, when he had passed to the rear of the enemy's lines south of the Tallahatchie his communications with us would be cut off, and he would have discretionary power, and it would be his duty and privilege to use his own best judgment as to the course it would be safest and best to take. Most likely, after the rebel cavalry had closed in behind him, he would not dare to try to get back, and would have to go right straight on to Baton Rouge.

"This was my final order to him, and I know of no other that was given to him by any one before his departure. He went south around the eastern end of the enemy's line, while I moved a brigade of infantry on Panola at the western end of it, making a strong diversion in his favor. He easily overcame all opposition made by the enemy and reached his destination without serious loss, having destroyed army stores and torn up railroads on his way, captured prisoners, and given the rebels a thorough and wide-spread shaking up. No more brilliant or effective raid was made by the troops of either army during the war of the rebellion.

"Grierson was an ideal cavalry officer—brave and dashing, cunning and resourceful—and his troops were excellent and well worthy of such a commander. The conception and general plan of the raid were mine. Its masterly execution belonged to Grierson and to his able and gallant subordinate officers and brave men, and to them and him I have always gladly given the praise they deserved."

NOTE B.

Local Effects of the Raid.—It was the sole object of the Grierson raid to break up railroads and to destroy transportation facilities and public property of the confederacy, and every effort was made by the leading officers to prevent interference with the persons and property of citizens, except as necessary to the safety of the command and the success of the expedition. General Grant in his order to Hurlbut of March 9 (R. R., 24, Pt. III., p. 95) says specifically, "The troops should be instructed to keep well together, and let marauding alone for once, and thereby better secure success." Grierson says in his report (R. R., 24, Pt. I., p. 524): "We arrived at Louisville soon after dark. I sent a battalion of the Sixth Illinois, under Major Starr, in advance, to picket the town and remain until the column had passed, when they were relieved by a battalion of the Seventh Illinois, under Major Graham, who was ordered to remain until we should have been gone an hour, to prevent persons leaving with information of the course we were taking, to drive out stragglers, preserve order, and quiet the fears of the people. They had heard of our coming a short time before we arrived, and many had left, taking only what they could hurriedly move. The column moved quietly through the town without halting, and not a thing was disturbed. Those who remained at home acknowledged that they were surprised. They had expected to be robbed, outraged and have their houses burned. On the contrary, they were protected in their persons and property." And in describing a skirmish with a company at Garlandville (page 525) he says: "After

disarming them, we showed them the folly of their actions, and released them. Without any exception they acknowledged their mistake, and declared that they had been grossly deceived as to our real character. One volunteered his services as guide, and upon leaving us declared that hereafter his prayers should be for the Union army. I mention this as a sample of the feeling which exists, and the good effect which our presence produced amoung the people in the country through which we passed." Nevertheless, the exigencies of the service demanded many acts on our part of a kind to cause wide-spread apprehension, and to leave behind us a broad trail of consternation and dismay. It was unavoidable that we should be obliged, after the first few days, to "live upon the country," with all that is implied by this expression; that as our horses gave out we should continue our march by seizing others in their place; and that negroes should be permitted to avail themselves of our presence to escape from bondage—facts which gave to the movement of Grierson's column through the length of the state the character of a great public calamity. Illustrations of the impression made by our movement are contained in the following extracts from the manuscript of Colonel Forbes, and from the southern newspapers of the time.

From the MS. of Col. H. C. Forbes.—We had not been long on our road [Starkville to Macon] before we were made aware of the ludicrous but tremendous panic which the raid was causing in these parts. As fast as men could ride and negroes run, the most exaggerated reports flew right and left, both as to the numbers and the conduct of our soldiers. Our hundreds became so many thousands, while our really restrained and considerate bearing towards the people was transmuted into every form of plunder and violence. The whole region was terrorized. The conscription had largely stripped the country of its natural defenders, yet there was a considerable contingent of white men to be found about the plantations. There were also many skulkers from the conscription and deserters from the confederate armies who were much more willing to shoot than to be shot. In every county and in most towns there were organizations of home guards, primarily raised to overawe the blacks and to keep in check the reckless elements of the population.

The women, the children, and the superannuated men completed the list. This heterogeneous and not wholly normal populace was thrown into the wildest excitement as we sped through. Some wished to fight; many chose to run; and all busied themselves with attempts to secrete their property. The flour and sugar were thrust into the remotest corner of the garret; the ham and bacon were buried under the houses or in the ash-heaps; the silver and china services were secreted under the soil of the freshly hoed gardens; the negro men were sent away into the swamps with the stock of all kinds, and oftentimes with wagon-loads of household stuff. The white men, unless bearing arms, were generally secreted from what was commonly supposed to be probable capture and possible murder, in whatever best hiding-place could be devised; while the women and children held the home against the invader—and well indeed they did it. I never saw a southern woman show undignified fear in her own home. They had the prej-

udices of their section and the expressiveness of their sex, and always a full broadside of both for the adventurous Yankee who lingered long enough to afford a fair mark. * * * * * *

As, therefore, we moved towards Macon, we found ourselves in the midst of the left-hand crest of this panic-stricken overflow from the main march; a stampede which, as we afterwards learned, extended twenty to thirty miles in each direction.

From the Paulding (Mississippi) "Clarion" of May 1, 1863.—On last Friday morning a force of federal cavalry, supposed to be from twelve to fifteen hundred in number, with four pieces of light artillery, suddenly made their appearance at Newton Station, on the Southern railroad. They entered Philadelphia, Neshoba county, late Thursday evening, and early the next morning were at Newton, thirty-seven miles distant.

From all we can learn, this body of federals passed from North Mississippi through the counties of Pontotoc, Chickasaw, and Oktibbeha, and through Philadelphia and Decatur to the Southern road. * * * *

After leaving Newton Station, the federals proceeded to Garlandville, in Jasper county. This neighborhood being one of the richest in this part of the State, suffered severely from their depredations. As they approached Garlandville, three shots were fired at them, resulting in the killing of one of their horses and severely wounding one of the men, who was the next day left behind in Smith county. The parties who fired at them (Cole, Marshal, Levi and Chapman) escaped. From Garlandville they proceeded in the direction of Raleigh, and camped Friday night at Mr. C. M. Bender's, thirteen miles from Garlandville. They took all Mr. Bender's mules and two of his negroes, and consumed a large amount of his corn and meat. Before leaving Mr. B.'s they gave him a receipt for three thousand rations of meat and forage, signed by Wm. Prince, Colonel, Seventh Illinois cavalry, commanding second brigade, etc. From here they went to the residence of Elias Nichols, in Smith county, robbed him of all his mules, a carriage, several of his negroes, and a greater part of his corn and meat. They passed on from Nichols's to Raleigh.

A company of about fifty men, armed with double-barrel guns, were made up at Paulding on Saturday to defend the place; but hearing during the day that the federals had passed rapidly into Smith county, concluded it was useless to pursue them. But on Sunday news that a body of the enemy [Company B, Seventh Illinois] had again appeared at Garlandville, caused them to reassemble, and on Sunday night a good company left this place in their pursuit. On Monday morning they heard in Smith that they had left that county the day before, and there being no probability of overtaking them, they returned home.

A meeting of citizens of Jasper county, not subject to conscription, will be held in Paulding on next Monday, for the purpose of organizing a volunteer company of cavalry for home defense.

From the Jackson "Appeal" for April 28, 1863.—From various sources we have particulars of the enemy's movements from the north line of Mississippi, through the eastern portion of the State, almost to

the Louisiana line. The route chosen for this daring dash was through the line of counties lying between the Mobile and Ohio, and New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroads, in which, as they anticipated, there was no organized force to oppose them.

The penetration of an enemy's country, however, so extensively, will be recorded as one of the gallant feats of the war, no matter whether the actors escape or are captured. The expedition, we learn, was under command of Col. Grierson, of Illinois, who has already acquired considerable reputation as a dashing leader in West Tennessee. He boasted that he had no fears of his ability to extricate his command from the dangerous position it seemed to be in, but gave no indication as to the route he should take to get out of the country. * * * After crossing Leaf river, the bridges behind them were burned. Last night, it appears to be authentically reported, they camped near Westville, in the southern part of Simpson county. Whether they will move thence to Natchez, *via* Monticello and Holmesville, can only be conjectured; but we still incline to the opinion so confidently expressed some days ago, on first being advised of their presence at Newton, that Baton Rouge will be their haven, if undisturbed. The crossing of Pearl river is the only natural difficulty they will encounter, and as we have no doubt they are advised as to the facilities they can secure at the different prominent fords, we presume they will act accordingly. Monticello and Holmesville may expect a visit.

The damage to the Southern railroad extends over a distance of four and a half miles, commencing a mile west of Newton, and running east. Two bridges, each about 150 feet long, seven culverts and one cattle gap, constitute the injury done. * * * Twenty freight cars were burned at Newton, and the depot buildings and two commissary buildings. The telegraph wire was taken down for miles, and cut in pieces. In many instances the wire was rolled up and put into the ditches and pools. But few poles were destroyed. We can hear of but little outrage having been committed upon the persons of non-combatants or upon their property, except by the seizure of every good horse, and of the necessary forage and provisions. They had to depend upon the country for these. * * * The safe at the railroad depot was broken open and the funds abstracted. The money was returned, however, by their commanding officer, with the exception of fifteen hundred dollars that, it was claimed, some of the men had stolen. The main body of the party in the movement upon Enterprise was halted at Hodge's residence, about five miles out, where they remained several hours. A detachment was sent to take the place [Company B, 7th Illinois], and they advanced with the greatest confidence. Fortunately, the Thirty-fifth Alabama, under Lieutenant-Colonel Goodman, arrived about the same time and met the advancing party as they were approaching the bridge. As our men were about to open fire a flag of truce was raised, when a parley ensued and a demand for a surrender was made. Colonel G. was expecting reinforcements every moment and asked time to consider. The Yankees then fell back and, Colonel Loring arriving with the Twelfth Louisiana, Colonel Scott, and the Seventh Kentucky, Major Bell, pursuit was commenced, when its was

found the advance had fallen back to the main body and all had gone. A fruitless effort to come up with them was made some miles further, but they had evidently become alarmed and feared an encounter.

At Doctor Hodge's the main body halted several hours . * * * * Some of them entered the doctor's enclosure and required his daughters to furnish them provisions, which was done to the extent of cooked articles on hand. The rose bushes and flower beds of the young ladies were also sadly despoiled by the unwelcome visitors, but beyond this our informant says they did no damage, nor did they insult the ladies. The doctor was absent.

From the Augusta (Georgia) Constitutionalist, May 8, 1863.—Their boldness and impudence in some cases were remarkable. A couple of their scouts were sent into Hazlehurst an hour or two before their raid upon that place, who walked boldly into the telegraph office and penned a dispatch to Jackson,* stating that the Yankee raiders had turned to the northeast. Their true character, however, being recognized, there was some talk of arresting them, when they—the Yankees—drew their pistols, defied the officers and men of the town, mounted their horses and rejoined their commands, then within two or three miles of the place, after which the whole force entered the town in squads of fifty and a hundred—several hours' interval between the van and rear guards—as leisurely and with as much nonchalance as our country people would ride into town on a gala day.

From the Columbus (Mississippi) Republic.—The past week has been an eventful one. The boldest, and we may say one of the most successful, raids of cavalry that has been know since the war began, has been made (we say it with shame) through the very center of Mississippi, and at the time of this writing we fear have escaped without the loss of a man. We are almost inclined to believe the words of a correspondent, that the manhood of Mississippi had gone to the wars; women only were left, although some of them wore the garb of men. We do not know where the responsibility rests, but wherever it is, if it is not a fit and proper subject for court martial, we are afraid there are none. * * * * * * * It is reported that between four and five thousand federal cavalry started on this raid. They divided; some fifteen hundred,† or perhaps a few more, stopped and gave Colonel Barteau battle, while the remainder, three thousand strong,‡ marched directly south, scouring the country, from eight to ten miles wide, leaving the railroad, south of West Point, on their left. They encamped one night within twenty-five miles of this place . They destroyed the hospital at Okolona§ and a few other buildings, passing south through Houston, Siloam and Starkville, to within one mile of Macon,‖ and thence south to Newton Station, on the Southern road, which we learn they destroyed. We can learn of no serious damage done or any ill

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*This dispatch was written by Colonel Prince, of the 7th. and sent to Hazlehurst by two of the scouts. (Surby, p. 67.)

†Hatch's five hundred men of the Second Iowa.

‡Grierson's 950 men of the 6th and 7th Illinois.

§Hatch's command.

‖Forbes's company.

treatment to the inhabitants personally. Their main objects seem to have been to examine the country and robbery—taking horses, mules and a few negroes.

At Starkville they robbed the inhabitants of horses, mules, negroes, jewelry and money; went into the stores and threw their contents (principally tobacco) into the street or gave it to the negroes; caught the mail boy and took the mail, robbed the postoffice, but handed back a letter from a soldier to his wife, containing $50.00, and ordered the postmaster to give it to her. Doctor Montgomery was taken prisoner and kept in camp all night, six miles from town, and allowed to return home next morning, after relieving him of his watch and other valuables. Hale & Murdock's hat wagon, loaded with wool hats, passing through at the time was captured. They gave the hats to the negroes and took the mules. Starkville can boast of better head covering for its negroes than any other town in the state.

They left quite a number of broken down horses all along their route, supplying themselves as they went. They stated that they were not destroying property; that they were gentlemen.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

By Judge Jacob W. Wilkin.

However much we are interested in the written history of the lives of great men, we all like to hear persons tell what they have seen of them and heard them say. Some such feeling as this must have prompted your committee to invite me to give "personal reminiscences" of General U. S. Grant, for it is a painful fact that of those who were intimately associated with this remarkable man, as members of his staff, during the war and from whom we can hope to get personal recollections of him, most of them have gone before or followed him to the grave. By accepting this invitation I would not have you understand that I claim to have had exceptional opportunities for forming an estimate of General Grant. I was closely associated with him but a few months, beginning with the Vicksburg campaign in the spring of 1863 and ending shortly after the surrender of that city, during which time I was at his headquarters and saw him almost daily. I was, however, then a young and inexperienced officer, not very competent to judge of his characteristics either as a man or commanding general. I believe, however, we will all agree that some of his traits of character, especially as a soldier, were so marked that no one could see much of him without being impressed with his greatness as a military genius and observe the peculiarities of mind and character which gave him his world wide renown as a military captain. The few incidents which I shall attempt to relate tonight as occurring during the time I was with him may appear to be insignificant, and some of them even trivial, but they have seemed to me to be of a character calculated to throw some light upon his methods of thought and inner life, and for that reason to be worthy of repetition. They may tend to exemplify the modes of thinking and acting which marked his career from the rank of a colonel in the volunteer army to the crowning success of his life as lieutenant-general, commanding all the armies of the United States.

About the middle of March, 1863, while in camp at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, I was walking along the levy or boat landing one morning, with one of my lieutenants, when a man in semi-military dress and unassuming in appearance walked off of a steamboat that had landed that night, apparently absorbed in a newspaper, and I said to the lieutenant with me: "There is General Grant." To which he replied: "I guess not. How do you know General Grant?" He insisted that I

was mistaken, and in a jocular way said, "That fellow don't look like a general, or to have the ability to command a regiment, much less an army." Somehow I was at that time impressed with his appearance, possibly from the fact that I knew it was Grant, having previously seen him, and I replied: "You are very much mistaken. He is not only able to command a regiment, but he can and will capture Vicksburg." Of course, this was a casual conversation, not of a very serious character, but I was right as to the identity of the man. It was General U. S. Grant, who had come to take personal command of the army which was now to move against Vicksburg.

My regiment was the One Hundred and Thirtieth Illinois, of which Colonel Matheny, of blessed memory, resident of Springfield, was colonel and belonged to the Thirteenth army corps, which was to form the advance from Milliken's Bend down the west side of the Mississippi river in the campaign. The corps was commanded by that gallant soldier and splendid field officer, Major-General John A. McClernand, then also a resident of this city. General headquarters were established near our camp. Colonel Clark B. Lagow of the Twenty-first Illinois commanded in the field, and when it entered the three years' service by General Grant, was aid on his staff. Colonel Lagow had enlisted from Palestine, Crawford county, in which I was raised, and I had seen him while a boy on my father's farm and heard more or less of him. Major Bowers from Mount Carmel, Wabash county, was also a member of his staff, and I knew something of him. In the early days of the war we formed acquaintances more readily with others from the same county or district, and perhaps in that way I was attracted to the headquarters, where I frequently met the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned, especially Major Bowers, who, though older than myself, was still a young man and very genial and agreeable.

I then saw very little of General Grant himself. He was busy perfecting the organization of the army and issuing orders for the forward movement. A few days before breaking camp at the Bend an order came to send all sick and disabled men to the hospital boats lying in the river near by. A member of my company had an injured leg and could not march, though he was otherwise well, and he begged not to be sent to the hospital. He was from the same town and I had known him at home and felt much interested in him. I was anxious to obtain a furlough, that he might go home, where he had a wife and two little children, and there regain his strength. Every soldier knows how hospitals were dreaded in the army, and I started out one morning determined, if possible, to get the furlough, going first to regimental headquarters, where I was promptly rebuked for even making the application, and told that the general order was then in force that no furloughs whatever should be granted. I went from there to brigade and division headquarters, but met with the same discouraging refusal and information as to the existing order. I returned to my tent very much disheartened, but said to one of the lieutenants, "I believe I will go over to headquarters and talk with Major Bowers about the matter," which I did. Headquarters were established in a

large oblong tent, called a hospital tent, with a canvas partition through the center. The office business was done in the front end, and, as I afterwards learned, the back part was used as the sleeping apartment and private quarters of the general. I stated to Major Bowers my business, making the best plea I could for my friend; but he told me, as had others, that it was useless to talk about a furlough at that time, in view of the general order. But I said: "This is an exceptional case. The man is not sick, but with his abhorrence of a hospital, if sent there he will in all probability become sick and die. I wish he could be allowed to go home to his wife and children." Just then the fly or canvas partition in the tent was pushed aside and General Grant, appearing, said, "Major, give that man a furlough," and withdrew. I sank down on a camp stool, overcome with astonishment, because I did not know General Grant was anywhere near, and Major Bowers was as much surprised as I was. He laughed, however, and said, "Well, that is all right," and immediately filled out the furlough. That afternoon I saw the crippled soldier take passage on a steamboat up the river, happy and glad, in the hope of soon meeting his wife and babies.

On the afternoon of the 28th of March a general order was circulated through the camp for the thirteenth corps to move at an early hour the next morning, our point of destination being New Carthage, Louisiana, about twenty-seven miles below on the Louisiana shore. Every one who has had an experience in army life knows what a commotion precedes breaking camp before entering upon an extended campaign. That night the men were busily engaged preparing rations, packing knapsacks and writing letters home. My company was then busy as others, when about 9:00 o'clock there came an order for me to report with my company to headquarters for special duty. How I came to be selected I do not know. I had no reason then or afterwards to suppose that General Grant knew me or had ever heard of me. Perhaps if he had, another would have been chosen in my stead.

The order, no doubt, came in the usual way. A captain with his company had been called for from our brigades and the order transmitted to the colonel of my regiment, who, in turn, selected my company to fill it. However that may be, with not a little disappointment we saw the regiment, with the corps, march away the next morning on that memorable campaign, and we reported to headquarters.

I was directed to take charge of the abandoned camp and put my company on guard to protect the stores which had been left behind, myself to superintend the landing and movement of other troops, some of which were at that time above at Lake Providence and others below at Young's Point, as they landed at the Bend. If at no other time during my army experience I earned my pay, I did during the week or ten days following. The troops which were being landed—regiments, brigades and divisions—were all anxious to find camping places, and make hasty preparations for moving on after the thirteenth corps, and each officer insisted on being first recognized and first advanced, so that I had all sorts of controversies, quarrels and sometimes almost fights, to carry out the orders which had been given me.

On the night of the 16th of April three transports, heavily guarded by gunboats under command of Admiral Porter, passed the batteries at Vicksburg and Warrenton Landing, below, at, or near New Carthage, where our corps was by that time in camp. On the night of the 22d the experiment was to be made of running the blockade with six wooden transports towing twelve barges, all heavily loaded with rations, ammunition and forage. There were no iron-clad gunboats left to escort and guard them. These had all gone below with the first fleet. Colonel Lagow of the general's staff, of whom I have spoken, and Colonel William S. Oliver of the Seventh Missouri, a member of General McPherson's staff, had immediate charge of the fleet, with headquarters on the steamer Tigress. The other transports were the Empire City, Moderator, J. W. Chessman, the Anglo Saxon and the Horizon. I was on General Grant's headquarters boat, the H. Von Phul, that night and she ran down to a point several miles above the city, from which the boats were to form in line and start on their hazardous voyage. The night, as I have said, was the 22d of April; the hour was about 10:00 o'clock, and the most impenetrable darkness prevailed. The boats had orders to display no lights—the fires of their furnaces were concealed by bales of hay and cotton. They were to give no signals, but float silently down the river until they encountered the rebel batteries.

I will not forget that night, as I saw the Tigress, followed by her five companies, glide by the Von Phul, and saw standing on the upper deck of his headquarters boat a man of iron, his wife by his side. He seemed to me then the most immovable figure I ever saw. If the expression, "the silent man," ever described him, it did at that hour. No word escaped his lips, no muscle of his earnest face moved. He was indeed silent as the tomb and immovable as granite. As the fleet approached the upper batteries, the rebel picket boat on guard gave the signal, and instantly battery after battery opened upon the frail, defenseless transports. To say that we were all excited but feebly describes the situation. The excitement and commotion was, however, of that suppressed character which intensifies rather than conceals emotion. Conversations were carried on with bated breath of deepest anxiety and apprehension for our friends who were floating, as we feared, to certain death. Men were nervously moving about the boat, straining their eyes to catch a glimpse of the heroic fleet and the gallant men on board. Grant alone appeared oblivious to everything that was going on. Think of it. Upon the success of that expedition, for the time being at least, hung the fate of all his plans for the capture of Vicksburg. If those boats failed to reach the army below, it would be without provisions, without forage; and still worse, without adequate means of crossing the river and gaining the necessary footing on the east side. If the boats were sent to the bottom, as the rebels confidently hoped they would be able to do, thirty thousand men or more would be helpless upon the west bank of the river. And yet, on that eventful night when the crucial test was about to be made, no one could have detected in the appearance or conduct of the man a moment of hestitation, doubt or misgiving.

It has been suggested that the plan of running those batteries originated with other officers, but I heard Colonel Rawlins himself say, and he knew, that the first time General Grant put a field glass to his face, as he stood on the bow of a boat above the batteries and swept the bluffs of Vicksburg below, he turned and said, "Transports can be run by those guns with comparative safety," and proceeded to explain how it could be done. The batteries, he said, had been planted on the bluffs with a view of commanding the channel and west side of the river, and if boats should hug the Vicksburg shore closely, the guns could not be sufficiently depressed to strike them. From that hour he made his plans upon the correctness of this theory and never for a moment doubted it. It is a well known fact that the fleet pursued exactly the course indicated. The boats ran under the rebel guns and so to a great extent escaped their deadly fire.

It would be idle for me to attempt a description of the magnificence and sublimity of the tragic scene of that night. It is foreign to my subject, and besides the attempt would be worse than idle. No pen nor tongue and no painter's brush ever has or ever can approximate a portrayal of the scene. The description of the struggle of Colonels Lagow, Oliver and the heroic cruise on the Tigress that midnight, until finally, with more than thirty solid shots through her hull, she broke in two and went down, stirs the heart and commands the admiration of every one who feels a thrill of patriotism when he reads of the desperate deeds of men in their country's cause. When the sound of the last gun at Warrenton had died away, the headquarters boat headed up stream and went back to the Bend. I don't remember hearing General Grant speak a word that night.

Soon after that, in obedience to orders, I took my company up the Yazoo river and joined headquarters in the rear of the city, north of the Jackson and Vicksburg wagon road, and not far from where now stands the Illinois Memorial temple, erected to the memory of the Illinois soldiers who fought in that historic campaign—a monument which is indeed one of magnificence and beauty; said to surpass in splendor of design and architectural beauty anything of its kind on this continent, if not in the world. Thanks to the liberality of our Legislature, the loyalty of Governor Yates—the honored son bearing the honored name of Illinois' illustrious war Governor—and our present chief executive, Charles S. Deneen, himself the son of one who faithfully followed the flag in defense of our country. But I digress. It is difficult to confine myself to my subject. Too many temptations break in upon me.

The headquarters in the rear of the city were established upon one of the many ridges which extend back from the bluffs eastward, and in a little valley to the north my company was camped, furnishing the headquarters' guard. After the capture of Jackson, the battles of Champion Hill and the Black River, General Johnston remained in our rear with a formidable army, perhaps thirty thousand men; and there was more or less apprehension that he might attempt to coöperate with Pemberton inside of the breastworks and give us serious trouble. The precaution had been taken to place a force between Vicksburg and

Black River, in order to prevent any surprise or movement of that kind, but still the anxiety existed as to what Johnston might try to do. Scouts were frequently sent out for the purpose of watching and reporting his movements. One morning a number of these came in from the different corps and one came to my tent for breakfast. I was amused to find that he carried in his pocket a small twig or stick with a number of notches cut on it, which he explained to me to indicate the number of regiments he had counted in Johnston's army as he passed secretly through his camp.

Early that afternoon there was a meeting of corps and division commanders at headquarters. Of course, I was not a participant in that conference, but had sufficient curiosity to make it convenient to be near enough to hear some things that were said. It was plain that the officers who had met there were excited and anxious about the movements of Johnston and what he might do. Some tried to impress upon General Grant the danger of his throwing a heavy force against a single point on our line and force his way through into the city, or by attacking us in the rear, with Pemberton in front, forcing us to fight between their lines. General Sherman said something like this: "If Johnston should attack me on the extreme right, before I could be reinforced from other parts of the line, which was more than seven miles long, he would in all probability be able to cut his way through." I may not have fully comprehended their apprehensions, but I remember it was suggested that if Johnston should move in our direction it would be better to throw out a force to meet him and fight him on open ground and drive him back. General Grant sat upon a camp stool in front of his tent quietly smoking, taking no part whatever in the discussion and making no reply to any of the suggestions until all were through, and then he simply said: "I know General Johnston better than you do. He does not want to get into Vicksburg. Pemberton wants to get out. Johnston would like for me to do just what some of you suggest—withdraw enough of our troops to meet him, thus weakening our lines, when Pemberton would hope to force his way out. Nobody wants to get into Vicksburg. Everybody in there would like to get out." The conference ended, and Sherman, Ord and McPherson, with their division commanders, rode off, I suppose satisfied with the pointed and direct reply which the General made. At least we heard no more of an attack from the rear or of throwing out a force to meet Johnston. Grant had his hand on Pemberton's throat and he would not be tempted to let that go.

A sergeant in my company, Aus Griffin, a jolly, good-hearted fellow, before enlisting was a house carpenter, and one day he suggested to some of the officers, perhaps to Grant himself, that he would like to build a kitchen and dining room for the headquarters, and was given consent to do so. He took a squad of men and went down to a canebrake nearby, where he cut and carried up bundles of cane, which by means of posts planted in the ground, he wove into a sort of lattice work, making two very handsome rooms, one for a kitchen and the other for a dining room. Having completed the work, he asked permission to go out into the country and get a table and some chairs for

the dining room, and was allowed to do that. He took three or four men with him one morning and was gone all day, coming back in the evening with a marble top table, two goblets and a silver pitcher, which he set down in the dining room where the General happened to be. Griffin and the General had by this time become good friends. Grant said: "Sergeant, where did you get those things?" The sergeant was a smart fellow and at once realized that he was about to get into an embarrassing dilemma, but replied: "Oh, out in an old house in the country." "What kind of a house?" "Well, it is an old church, but they don't use it any more, and these things might be carried off and so I thought I might get them for you." But the General shook his head and said, "No, no, that won't do, Sergeant, you must take them back, they are used for sacred purposes and I will not suffer them to be devoted to any other, you must take them back." "Well," said the sergeant, "all right, can I wait until morning?" "Yes, but I want you to promise me that you will see that they are placed where you got them." "I will do that, of course." And so the next morning, Griffin and his squad shouldered up the heavy marble top table and with the goblets and pitcher marched off. And I have no doubt he faithfully did what he promised the General he would. Here was a man of cruel war with a Christian heart and reverence for sacred things.

One day while riding on the lines, he saw a teamster beating a mule, and riding up to him, ordered him to stop. Wearing an army blouse without shoulder straps, the man did not recognize him and not very politely told him to mind his own business, using profane language, whereupon Grant told his orderly to arrest him and bring him to headquarters. He was turned over to me with orders to tie him up by the thumbs. When the fellow realized that he had used insulting language to General Grant he was the most humiliated man imaginable and protested he did not know it was General Grant. His punishment lasted but a little while and because of my sympathy, was not the most severe of the kind; when I was directed to bring him up to the headquarters tent and there he renewed his protestation that he did not know it was the general he was talking to and that he would not under any circumstances have insulted him. But the general said, "You don't understand, it was not I that was hurt, it was the mule. I could defend myself but the poor dumb animal could say or do nothing for its own protection," and dismissed the culprit with the admonition that he would be closely watched and if again found abusing his team, he would be summarily dealt with. The man went away repeating "I did not know it was General Grant." I am aware that General Porter relates a similar occurrence during the campaign in the wilderness. Here was a man sometimes charged with inhumanly disregarding the lives of his men, manifesting the heart and sympathy of a humanitarian. He cared nothing for himself, but could not tolerate cruelty to a dumb brute.

An amusing incident occurred during the siege. A member of the company discovered a bee tree near the camp and the boys obtained permission to cut it down. When it fell, it broke near the place where

the bees had deposited their honey, but they were so hostile that it was impossible to get the tempting treasure. The men took their camp kettles and with torches marched in. But the bees as often charged and drove them back. Those of us who were out of range, standing on the hill above, were very much amused, Grant ,with the rest of us. enjoying the fun. Finally a bald-headed, ill-tempered, quarrelsome, profane fellow swore he was going to have some of that honey anyhow. And he ventured in with his cap pulled over his head and face, and in spite of being stung, began to dig out the honey. The bees peppered him on the hands and face until finally he could stand it no longer and dropping his spoon began to strike right and left, first with his hands, but at last he jerked off his hat, jumped up and down and swore furiously. Fighting aimlessly in every direction. The bees, of course, took advantage of the situation and began to strike the top of his bald head, until at last he had to retreat. Grant laughed immoderately, and I do not think he ever saw that soldier afterward that he did not smile. He was a stern man, at times a melancholy one, but he could on occasions enjoy with others the amusements of the camp.

Some of you remember that General McClernand (I shall always believe thoughtlessly) published an order after the charge on the 22d of May, which Grant thought justified his being superceded by General Ord as commander of the 13th corps. On the morning the order was issued Col. Rawlins, who was more or less pugnacious and aggressive in his manner insisted that the conduct of General McClernand demanded more severe punishment than that of merely being relieved of his command, but Grant said no. "General McClernand has made a mistake but he is a brave soldier, and I will not humiliate him beyond that which is necessary to maintain discipline in the army." (Though not the stricest disciplinarian, he knew that an army without discipline soon degenerated into a mob.) Here was an exhibition of his great sense of justice, which in view of the jealousies engendered in the army among the rival officers was not always found. While I do not attempt to justify the conduct of General McClernand, I must be permitted to say that the men of the 13th corps, who fought under him on the bloody line that day, and many other fields, believed religiously in their beloved corps commander, both in his loyalty to the government and in his heroic courage. His presence was always an inspiration to his men, many of whom did follow him to the death.

One afternoon pandemonium broke loose from one end of the line to the other. The seven miles of batteries of siege guns and the thousands of muskets in the rifle pits on either side seemed to open fire in an instant. The sky was filled with flying shells and shot, smoke darkened the sun and the hills fairly trembled. For the time it lasted I am sure there was never such cannonading and rattle of musketry heard on this earth. Grant happened to be sitting on a stool near the mouth of his tent, as was frequently his habit, and he neither spoke or moved. Every one else was in a state of the wildest excitement and demoralization. Rawlins seemed to lose all patience with Grant's seeming obliviousness or indifference. He said "Hell has

broke loose." And that seemed to me the only proper way of expressing the situation. And, he added, "it seems to me there are times when even Grant ought to show some anxiety." But Grant was unmoved. He said nothing and did nothing. After the firing had ceased he quietly said, "Colonel, you may order the horses and we will ride out and see what has happened. The rebels have attempted to cut out and our men have driven them back." I need not say that it was exactly as he predicted. Here was an exhibition of that trait in his character which General Sherman denominated faith. A firm reliance upon the success of his own plans which was largely the secret of his success in every campaign.

He was, as I have intimated, at times criticized for a seeming recklessness of the lives of his soldiers. When inquiry was made at Shiloh whether there were sufficient transports to convey the army across the river in case our army should be compelled to retreat, he sternly replied, "When this army withdraws there will be plenty of boats for all the men who are left." And in the fearful losses in the wilderness, surrounded by the dead and dying, he did not hesitate, from time to time to repeat the order "the army of the Potomac will move by the left flank," which Lee soon learned meant continued bloody, deadly slaughter. When he said, "We will fight it out on this line if takes all summer," he uttered no mere idle or boastful sentiment. It was not, however, as I think every one who has studied his character believes, because he did not sympathize with his army and deprecate the loss of the brave men who fought and fell under him, but because he understood the philosophy of war, and knew that in every important battle many lives must be sacrificed; but, if victory was achieved, the dead would not have been killed without recompense; whereas, if the loss of life was followed by defeat, the sacrifice might be irreparable or without compensation. Hence, he always fought for victory. He early announced his estimate of the situation relative to the civil war. He believed that the government of the United States had superior strength both in men and money over the Confederacy and that it could successfully put down the rebellion by the persistent, aggressive use of its strength ultimately exhausting and defeating the rebel army, and followed that idea; whenever and wherever the opportunity presented itself he threw the whole strength of his army into the conflict, sometimes, it may be true, without much regard to the losses he would suffer so long as he could see that his efforts weakened or destroyed the enemy. No one can doubt his great ability in conceiving and carrying out his plans, and in my judgment that genius grew out of his dogged persistency.

It has been said by military men of this and other countries that his campaign against Vicksburg was the most brilliant in conception and execution mentioned in history. None of the great campaigns equalled it. Whenever and however he appeared before his army during that campaign he was the personification of a conquering hero. We have read of his splendid horsemanship and of his unattractive appearance dismounted. To me he always had an impressive personality. It is true when he mounted his splendid horse (he never rode an inferior

one) he seemed to grow in stature and commanding presence, but whether so mounted or on foot he inspired his army with confidence and courage whenever and wherever they saw him. Finally the victory came. I saw the white flag creep slowly out of the rebel works and heard the shouts of victory as they rolled along and moved slowly toward our Union lines. The Gibraltar of the Confederacy, with all its garrisons, had surrendered, and on the 4th of July we moved in and took possession. Soon after, headquarters were established in one of the residences of the city. The general's wife and children joined him there, and I often saw him surrounded by his family—a kind, considerate, indulgent and loving husband and father. Duties soon called him to other fields and I returned to my regiment seeing no more of him until after the close of the war. I then saw him as we all did, upon the very summit of earthly fame. No jealousies or ill feelings approach him there.

His subordinates with one accord recognized his superiority and even the enemy pronounced him the great, generous and noble-hearted victor. He was then in a military atmosphere purified by the red fire of battle, and there he might have remained without a stain upon or an insinuation against his fair fame.

I have sometimes said to myself, "Oh, why did he ever leave that proud position, and why was he ever tempted to enter the turmoil and strife of party politics and animosities and humiliations there engendered and from which we must all admit he keenly suffered." No doubt, in some of his executive acts as President of the United States, he maintained his character for greatness, but he was essentially a soldier and not a statesman, certainly not a politician.

A few years ago I walked into that marvel of architectural beauty on the bank of the Hudson and stood inside the granite walls of that splendid mausoleum in which rests the ashes of my ideal soldier and that beloved wife. I wore a grand army button as did the veteran Irish soldier on guard. Looking into the vault upon his granite coffin deposited there, I could not help thinking of his wonderful career, of the battles he fought, the victories he won, how from obscurity in four short, stormy, perilous years he forced his way to the pinnacle of military glory, and my mind went back to that dark night in April, 1863, when I saw him standing in front of the pilot house on the H. Von Phul, the same gentle wife by his side, and had impressed upon my young mind the conviction, Grant alone is invincible; Grant is unconquerable, and tears coursed their way down my cheeks and as I turned to go saluted the Irish soldier, who said, "*Comrade,* perhaps you knowed the mon."

SAMUEL P. WHEELER.

SAMUEL P. WHEELER.

A Memorial.

By James H. Matheny.

Today we have turned aside from the work and care of daily life to contemplate and to again record the making of Illinois and the men who made it; and as we look at them in the dim light of history they seem, as shadows so often seem, to be of more than human—of heroic stature. But now we turn from them to the life of one whom we knew and who knew us—a man human like ourselves—but who like them was strong and true. Twelve months ago he was with us, full of years and honors, but with the old time brightness in his eye and with all the force of early days. Today there is but a memory cherished by hearts that too will cease to beat—the fading tradition of a strong and useful life. There is a sense in which the influences of every life are truly immortal in their effect upon the lives of others, and through them upon yet others from generation to generation, but their identity is soon lost in the mazes of current and counter-current that make up the life of the world.

It has been said that the memory of the lawyer is peculiarly ephemeral. A judgment may be a land mark of the law—it may make an epoch in the progress of jurisprudence; it may make historic the judge who pronounced it; and yet the lawyer whose logic and eloquence have perhaps inspired it, whose thought and whose words it may embody, is forgotten, save, as in after years, some wearied student "may pause to spell his name and wonder who he was." We therefore come today to preserve for future generations our memories of Samuel P. Wheeler.

He was born at Binghamton in the state of New York on the 12th day of January, 1839. He was the son of Dr. Alvan Wheeler, a physician of that city. He came to Illinois in early manhood and taught school for a time. He was admitted to the bar of Illinois when twenty years of age. He practiced his profession at Mound City on the Ohio river, and then at Cairo. He resided for a few years at Mt. Carmel, called there by his duties as manager of the Cairo, Vincennes & Chicago Railway. He returned to Cairo where he remained until 1887, when he removed to Springfield, residing here until his death.

His ability had early recognition. In his day the lawyer was trained in the office of the leaders of the bar and from this and from the constant association in the courts where the profession, young and old,

saw every achievement, every failure, the lawyers of the former day knew each other as those of the present time do not. Mr. Wheeler soon made his position and his early partnerships attest it. He was associated for some years with William Joshua Allen afterward judge of the United States District Court for the southern district of Illinois. Those of us who remember Judge Allen in the calm and ease of his work at Springfield can hardly realize his power and activity when at the bar, in southern Illinois. Mr. Wheeler was also associated with John H. Mulkey, afterward judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, and with George W. Wall afterward a judge of the Illinois Appellate Court for this district. These firms were concerned in nearly all the great litigations of a large territory and the life of each member was the strenuous life of the court room lawyer.

In 1887, upon the accession of Judge Allen to the bench, Mr. Wheeler removed to Springfield, as has been said, and became a member of the firm of Brown, Wheeler, Brown & Hay, which was historic among the law firms of Springfield. It then included Christopher C. Brown, an account of whose life appears in your last volume; it had included John T. Stuart and Benjamin S. Edwards, and more remotely, Abraham Lincoln. It is a most interesting fact that the name of Lincoln was associated with the early days of another notable firm of lawyers coming down to our own times with the names of Stephen T. Logan, Milton Hay, John M. Palmer, Shelby M. Cullom, Henry S. Greene, David T. Littler and the distinguished jurist who is to address you today.

I remember well the announcement of his coming to Springfield and an expression from a most competent judge—John Mayo Palmer—to the effect that he would be found to be the strongest piece of legal timber that had come here for many a day. Of his position at the bar at Springfield I need not speak, further than to say that it met the demands of his previous reputation and of the connection to which he had come; that he was a lawyer of learning and logical power; most effective in the service of his clients and fair to the courts and to opposing interests.

Mr. Wheeler accepted and performed with credit a number of trusts of great financial importance. For five years he was receiver for the Cairo, Vincennes & Chicago Railroad, and for a number of years acted in the same capacity for the Jacksonville, Louisville & St. Louis Railroad, and the Chicago, Peoria and St. Louis Railway.

He was active in the work of the Illinois State Bar Association particularly in its earlier years and took part in the movement for the creation of a system of appellate courts in Illinois which was actively conducted by the association and which was the occasion of its organization. In connection with ex-Judge Anthony Thornton and the late Harvey B. Hurd, he argued in support of the constitutionality of the act creating the new courts in the test case which was immediately brought. The question was one of the greatest interest to the bench, the bar, and the people. In 1893 he was elected to the presidency of the association, succeeding Lyman Trumbull.

Mr. Wheeler well avoided the extremes of seeking office on the one hand and of coldly refusing all public duties on the other. For twenty-five years he was one of the trustees of the Southern State Normal University at Carbondale, and for much of this time was chairman of the board, resigning in the spring of 1906, and in recognition of his service the handsome new library building of that institution bears his name. For ten years he served as a member of the board of education of the city of Springfield and rendered full and faithful service particularly in connection with the new high school building.

Both at Cairo and at Springfield Mr. Wheeler was an earnest and consistent member of the Presbyterian church. He was faithful in attendance and rendered valuable assistance in the lines of activity to which he was best adapted.

It is difficult to pick out any characteristics of him more prominent than the rest, but I may mention two that impressed me. His was an ordered life in the best sense. I once heard him say in reference to his locating at Cairo that he chose that city because, after his experience in boyhood with the snows of New York, he wanted to go as far south as he possibly could without getting into a state in which slavery existed. I do not know that he meant this to be taken seriously but the expression was an index to his character. His plans of life and work were thought out and then worked out and rarely did they fail. One strong element of his power at the bar was the orderly massing of all the resources of law and fact at his command. The lawyer is proverbially careless and many reputations have been largely made by ingeniously meeting situations that never ought to have existed. It was not so with him; he often surpassed the expectation of his friends, he never fell below it.

His appearance, his manner, and his mental habits were truly judicial. They so impressed those with whom he was brought into contact that although he was not a judge at any time, nor so far as I know, had ever sought to be, yet he was constantly so called and is so recorded in many of the volumes issued by this association.

The quality of judicial fairness may appear to be inconsistent with the work of a practising lawyer, but it is not so in fact. The honest lawyer does not assist his clients in doing that which they may not honestly do, nor does he argue in the courts questions of law or fact that are not truly debatable. Experience has demonstrated that with a debatable question the best result is attained by the effective presentation of all that is pertinent in law or in fact, first on behalf of one side and then on behalf of the other, and that the division of this labor between counsel for the parties helps toward the result.

In such presentation there is room for the widest range of logical power and for the greatest eloquence, but the arguments are sound and the elements that enter into the result are not misrepresented. Viewed in this light—its true light—the work of the lawyer is an indispensable part of our judical system.

In this we are reminded of the solemn utterance of Lord Coke. In speaking of the solution of difficult questions he said:

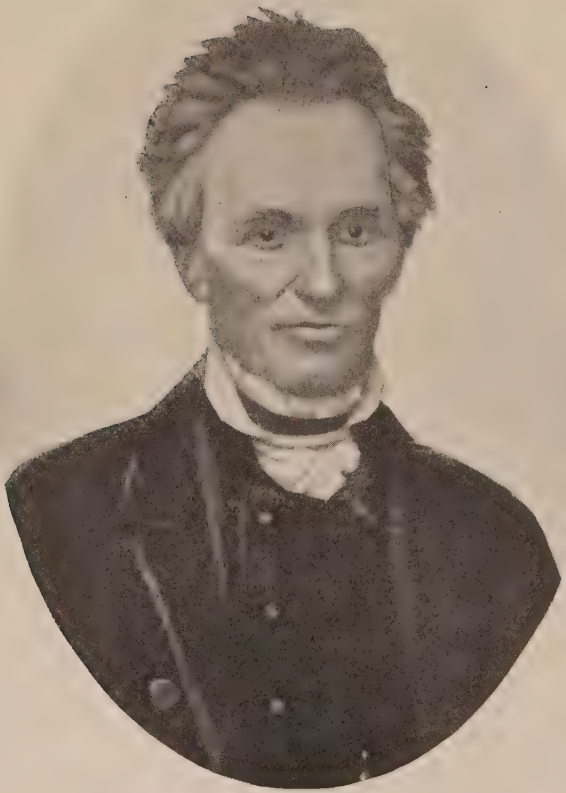
"No one man alone, with all his true and uttermost labors, nor all the actors in them, themselves, by themselves, out of a court of justice, nor in court, without solemn argument could ever have attained the result reached."

We are also reminded of his belief that "upon solemn argument at the bar Almighty God openeth and enlargeth the understanding." Coke seems to have believed that upon such occasions there descends upon those engaged a measure of divine inspiration, just as many believe it so descends in ample measure upon the dignitaries of the Church when gathered together in solemn conclave.

We may not believe, as did Lord Coke, but we do believe that the lawyer is an aid to the court in the administration of justice and those who have most often seen questions of the profoundest difficulty settled upon argument, and so generally settled right, can best appreciate the truth of this.

In 1860 Mr. Wheeler was married to Katherine F. E. Goss, who with one son and five daughters survive him. Of the daughters three are married, but the family circle, thus broken, was restored and more as the little grandchildren played about his knee and cheered his heart, even to the very last, with the matchless charm of childhood. In 1904 he carried into execution a long cherished wish in the building of a new home. It was near to the busy walks of the people, of whom he was always one, but it was out where the sun went down behind a noble isle of stately wood—left of the forest primeval—and where the morning came with the incense of trees and grass and sky. Here he hoped, as indeed he might well hope, to spend the long evening of his life in peace.

But this was not to be. While engaged in the court room in June of last year there came the fatal touch that was the beginning of the end. He died on the second day of December, 1906. There is something deeply pathetic in unfilled hopes, but they have always been one of the sure foundations of man's greatest hope. Out of the depths has come the cry, not of despair, but of confident acclaim that the broken arc of human life must find its complement somewhere, somehow, and we may believe that as the light of day faded from his eyes, he caught the foregleam of another day and heard the footfalls and the voices of another world.



REV. JOHN MASON PECK.

DR. JOHN MASON PECK AND SHURTLEFF COLLEGE.

By Judge J. O. Humphrey.

If it is well for us as a people to consider the causes which have produced important results; if we subscribe to the truth that the sure foundations of states are laid in knowledge and not in ignorance; that education and morality go hand in hand; that slavery, polygamy and the taking of human life upon accepted challenge are eternally wrong, we may pause for a little to consider that there was a time when these truths were not generally conceded even in Illinois; that strong men were compelled to battle for their establishment and the best history of that time is the record of the acts and doings of those rugged characters who stood for the first generation of our history as a State in the front of the conflict waged over these important questions. I invite your attention to one of these characters, John Mason Peck, and to his most enduring work, the college founded by his efforts.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

John Mason Peck was of Puritan parentage, and spent the first eighteen years of his life in Litchfield, Conn., the place of his birth. The common school at that time was the pride of Connecticut. In such school young Peck spent his winters and in the summers he worked on the farm.

Married at the age of twenty, he began teaching and preaching. Always a student, his habits of industry acquired in that New England home fixed his ravenous mind at once upon the various subjects from spelling and geography to Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics and the sciences. Competent teachers were not plentiful then as now and except a few months spent in the seminary at Philadelphia his studies were self-directed.

Thus under difficulties, which would have appeared insurmountable to ordinary men, he extended his researches to additional fields of human knowlege, including a considerable grasp of the science of medicine.

In 1817 occurred the important event of his selection by the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society to undertake the establishment of a western mission with headquarters at St. Louis. His field of labor extended over the entire Mississippi valley and he actually traveled as far north as Michigan and Wisconsin and as far south as New Orleans, but his activities were generally limited to the territory on both sides of the Mississippi river from Rock Island, Ill., to Nashville, Tenn.

The hardships he endured can scarcely now be understood. He learned the lessons of frontier life so that he knew them as well as an Indian or a hunter. He could camp out and make himself fairly comfortable in an uninhabited forest on a rainy night.

On one occasion he started before daylight and without breakfast to reach an appointment to preach at the house of a Methodist brother

at twelve o'clock, but hindered by blind trails, swollen streams and other mishaps, he arrived at sunset, found the people waiting and conducted the service to a conclusion before informing the family that no food had passed his lips since the previous day.

THE HOME MISSIONARY.

The expressed purpose of the society was "To spread the gospel and promote common schools." It was the first missionary society in the whole Mississippi valley. Peck's interest in these two subjects amounted to a passion. The field was impoverished almost to the point of absolute destitution. There was not a free school in the entire valley. There were few schools of any kind. Such as existed were in the hands of teachers who were immoral or illiterate or both. He preached December 6, 1818, in the legislative hall in St. Louis and took up a collection for missionary purposes, the first sermon and the first collection for missions in the city of St. Louis. In three years from that date many churches and more than fifty good schools had been established by Mr. Peck.

The following year, 1822, he removed his family to Rock Spring, St. Clair county, Illinois, where he resided for the remainder of his life, and while at intervals he visited the neighboring territory his chief efforts from this time were given to Illinois.

While these were the general themes about which the work of his life centered, he gave intelligent consideration to every kindred topic for more than forty years. Intemperance, slavery, polygamy and the duelling code became at once the targets for his unerring aim. He believed that ignorance and infidelity were the fruitful causes of vice and crime and while he sought, by the establishment of schools and churches, to improve the people already settled here, he thought to strike deeper at the root of the matter by controlling to some extent the character of future immigrants.

In 1831 he published "Peck's Guide for Immigrants," a volume of 336 pages, replete with useful information. The scholar of today will read this little book with ever increasing admiration for the author and will wonder how one of his opportunities could, with such accuracy of statement, treat so broad a field upon so many subjects. Three years later he wrote a "Gazetteer of Illinois," containing a general view of the State and each county, and a particular description of each town, settlement, stream, prairie, bottom, bluff, etc., alphabetically arranged.

Both books went through many editions and there is perhaps no doubt that through the circulation of these volumes Dr. Peck induced more immigrants to come to Illinois up to 1860 than any other man, or any other single influence.

AGAINST DUELLING.

The practice of duelling, an inheritance from the French nation, had been received with much favor in the South, and while never popular in the North, little had been said or done against it in the Mississippi valley prior to the time of which we write.

True, the costly sacrifice of Hamilton's life in 1804 had shocked the nation and the sermon of the elder Beecher occasioned by it had extended his parish throughout the land. True, also, the untimely death of Rice Jones,* a promising young lawyer of Kaskaskia, in 1809, growing out of a challenge to fight a duel had resulted one year later in the adoption of a law by the governor and judges of the territory making a fatal result in a duel murder and all taking part in it principals to the crime.

When Mr. Peck came to St. Louis a succession of duels had recently occurred there and some good men had been sacrificed. He announced that he would preach upon the subject of dueling. Before the appointed time two more duels had been fought and two men had died as the result thereof. He preached from Isaiah 1:15, "Your hands are full of blood."

Of this sermon he himself has written:

"The old Baptist church house, which stood on the corner of Third and Market streets, was crowded by all classes, amongst whom I discovered the Hon. David Barton, then a senator in Congress, whose lamented brother was one of the victims, and the late Rev. Samuel Mitchell, whose eldest son was another. I did my utmost to hold up the practice of duelling to the abhorrence of all right-minded men as a crime of no small magnitude against God, against man, against society."

Doubtless the sermon was published in some one or more of the numerous sheets edited by Mr. Peck and though I have not been able to find it, we may well believe it deserves to rank among the potential addresses which make up the literatrue of the time on that subject. This clarion note of the pioneer was sounded a full generation prior to the time when those gifted sons of Illinois† fell upon the Pacific

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* Reynolds Pioneer History of Illinois, 173. Parish, Historic Illinois, 334.

†In the fifties a band of young men went from Illinois to the Pacific coast—E. D. Baker, William Ferguson and David Logan from Springfield, Charles E. Lippincott from Cass county, James A. McDougal from Jacksonville. There they met with numerous other kindred spirits. Some of them were Whigs and some Democrats, but all were anti-slavery. The same sort of struggle for possession was going on in California as in Kansas, and the pro-slavery leaders of the Pacific slope regarded these men who lived north of the Ohio river as being of the class whom they chose to call cowards, and they made up their minds that the best way to carry their point was to challenge them to fight duels and kill them off in relays; and so they entered into a combination, that A, B, C and D should in turn challenge Gilbert, Ferguson, Broderick, Baker, Lippincott, Logan and the rest. And Gilbert was killed and Ferguson was killed and Broderick was killed, and Baker pronounced funeral orations over their dead bodies, and he stirred the nation on the subject as it had not been stirred before. Strong men and women who sat at their firesides, from the eloquence of this man on this important subject, taught their boys new lessons on this particular subject.

Baker was an orator of the finest type. His orations rivaled the best productions of the orators of history. He said to the American people: "The code of honor is a delusion and a snare. It palters with the hope of a true courage and binds it at the feet of crafty and cruel skill. It surrounds its victims with the pomp and grace of the procession, but leaves him bleeding on the altar. It substitutes cold and deliberate preparation for courageous and manly impulse, and arms the one to disarm the other. Its pretense of equality is a lie. It is equal in all the form; it is unjust in all the substance. It is a shield emblazoned with the name of chivalry to cover the malignity of murder."

The speech went ringing through the confines of the nation, and young men and women took new ideas on the subject.

It was now Lippincott's turn; and he was challenged to meet a man named Tevis on that fatal field where Gilbert, Ferguson and Broderick had already fallen. Lippincott was the son of a minister; a young man of fine spirit, reared among the best of influences. He promptly accepted, although it wrung his heart to think of the possible effect upon his aged father. He realized that the hated practice of dueling would continue until some northern man went to that field and came back alive. He scorned to practice for the occasion, but was known to have an unerring aim. The duel resulted in the death of Tevis, and there were no more challenges from the advocates of slavery.

As an evidence that the public conscience was being aroused against duelling, it is worth recalling that the man who killed Broderick was in 1880 a candidate for presi-

slope "tangled in the meshes of the code of honor," a full generation before Baker's marvelous philippics, pronounced over their dead bodies, stirred the nation on the subject as it had not been stirred before; a full generation before Lincoln and Bissell and Potter had through ridicule and derision induced the American people practically to make an end of duelling.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY.

When Peck came west the people of the Illinois country had been familiar with slavery for a hundred years. The Frenchman, Renault, about 1720, had brought a cargo of San Domingo negroes to St. Phillippe, and during the next twenty years sold or indentured them to the citizens. A few whites and Indians were already so indentured. The French government, before this time, had legalized slavery in the American colonies. The Paris treaty of 1763 contained a provision by which England confirmed the French inhabitants of Illinois in this species of property. When the territory was ceded to the United States in 1784 by Virginia the right was further recognized and protected in the deed of cession.

Later, when a bill was introduced in Congress, providing for the abolition of slavery in the territory of the Northwest to be effective

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dential elector in California, and enough of his party associates voted against him so that he was the only defeated candidate on his party ticket. Here was a moral indictment against a duelist a generation after the fact.

About this time the matter was brought into ridicule in various ways. A State Auditor of Illinois, an Irish gentleman of much vanity, excited the risibilities of two young ladies in Springfield, who wrote an anonymous paragraph or two in the newspaper here, at which he took offense. It sought to bring him into some degree of ridicule as a statesman, as a politician.

The article was dated from "The Lost Townships" and was signed "Rebekah." Shields demanded the name of the author. Another article followed, written by Mr. Lincoln. Shields again demanded the name of the author. The editor spoke to Mr. Lincoln about it. Mr. Lincoln said, "Tell him I wrote it."

Shields challenged him to fight a duel. Lincoln promptly accepted, and they started across the river to fight it out. Lincoln selected broad swords, with a board ten inches high planted between them. Whenever either party receded more than three feet from the board he yielded the fight. Shields said that was ridiculous. Lincoln said fighting duels was ridiculous. The thing came to nothing. Two other challenges grew out of it.

A little later an Illinois colonel, who had commanded an Illinos regiment at Buena Vista, and then a member of Congress, sat in his seat and listened to a Virginia member say that the day had been won at Buena Vista by a certain Mississippi regiment. The Illinois colonel resented that, and proved by the record that the Mississippi regiment wasn't within a mile and a half of the place where the fight occurred. The commander of the Mssissippi regiment challenged the Illinois member to fight a duel. He chose muskets, loaded to the muzzle, at forty paces, the participants to advance ten paces as long as there were two left. The Mississippian stated that was brutal. The Illinois colonel said fighting duels was brutal. Of course, a courageous Mississippan couldn't fight under those conditions, and so it was called off. The Mississippian was afterwards president of the southern confederacy and the Ilinois colonel became Governor of Illinois.

A little later a very large man from Wisconsin was a member of Congress, and a little man from Virginia took offense at something he said on the floor of the House and challenged him to fight a duel. These names are so significant to the story that I give them. The Wisconsin Congressman was named Potter and the Virginian Pryor, and they went out to fight. While they were gone the House was in session, and a wag answered for both in their absence; when Potter's name was called he said, "Gone to keep a Pryor engagement;" and when Pryor's name was called he said, "Gone to be made into Potter's clay." Potter selected bowie knives. The Virginian said that wasn't a gentlemanly way to fight. Potter replied there was no gentlemanly way to fight.

These various incidents furnished the humorous side, the ludicrous side of the dueling question, and Baker's melting eloquence, burning as it went, furnished the sentimental side; and the newspapers of the country took up the question, and nobody since has had any respect for the duelist.

*From an address delivered by Judge Humphrey in the Baptist Church at Springfield January 21, 1906.

in the year 1800, it was defeated. The territorial authorities passed laws favorable to the slaveholder. The governor, himself a slaveholder, enforced the laws in favor of slavery and used the veto power against all efforts to abolish slavery or to mitigate the condition of those subject to its rigors.

When the territory was admitted as a state the legislature promptly passed a slave code. Perhaps nothing more barbarous or less humane ever marred our history as a state. By this law freedom and emancipation were made difficult and inconvenient while involuntary servitude wac made easy and convenient. The effect of the law was such that a man who was free might under certain circumstances become a slave by lapse of time. Kidnaping was so difficult of prosecution that it became not only profitable but almost respectable. It cannot be said that the people of Illinois were opposed to slavery. The state extends far to the south; her eastern, southern and western boundaries washed for hundreds of miles by great rivers all running to the southward, the only highways of commerce, her commercial relations were early identified with the slaveholding states, and so with laws favorable to slavery, with a population which had never voted against slavery, with state officials and a legislature promoting the interests of slavery, with the channels of commercial intercourse running chiefly to slaveholding centers, and with a thousand persons in Illinois actually held in slavery, Illinois was waiting for a man strong enough to organize the hosts of freedom as the powers of slavery had long been organized.

The man and the occasion met in 1822 and the man was John M. Peck. He came to the state in April of that year and the first battle between the forces of freedom and slavery was fought at the polls in the following August. The very strength of the slave party became its weakness. Its votes were divided between two candidates, while the anti-slavery vote was united on Edward Coles, and he was elected governor, although he received less than one-third of the votes cast. The weakness of the anti-slavery forces at the time is shown by the fact that the pro-slavery majority in the legislature promptly submitted for the vote of the people a resolution for a convention to amend the constitution, the object being to form a constitution in favor of slavery. When it is understood that no such resolution for a convention to amend the constitution could even be submitted except by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly, the overwhelming majority of the pro-slavery forces is made further to appear. The submission to the people was to be at the general election of August, 1824, and now the work or organization for the great struggle was on.

It mattered not to Peck that the prominent men of the state, the politicians who appeared in the open, were mostly arrayed on the side of those who favored the convention. Coles, Cook, Birkbeck, a few others, himself and the Lord were on the side of fredom.

The anti-slavery party, less numerous than its opponents, far excelled them in literary talent. A small fund was raised into which went Coles' salary for the entire term. The brilliant Cook had no

1 Moses' History of Illinois, Vol. 1, p. 321.

equal on the stump. Birkbeck was a good writer.* Peck was omnipresent fighting with voice and pen. This was his opportunity. For years he had been traveling the territory and nothing had escaped him. He knew every locality, who had made it, and who controlled it. No politician equaled him in acquaintance with the population. As teacher, preacher, missionary, author and publisher, he had canvassed the field and his mailing list was extensive and valuable.

He knew the boundaries of Illinois had been fixed by Congress for the definite purpose of creating an interest with the North and East; that the new State was dedicated to the work of saving the Union when the great national struggle between freedom and slavery should come. He knew Pope's argument on that subject in the house of Congress and accepted it as the voice of prophecy. He regarded this as the preliminary skirmish of that greater struggle to come and that he himself had "come to the kingdom for such a time as this." The issue involved moral questions and furnished a new text for every waking hour. He spoke with an unction and his arguments carried a "thus saith the Lord."

PECK'S BATTLE FOR FREEDOM.

For eighteen months the battle raged. In the whole Mississippi Valley there had been such a campaign. While Coles was the nominal leader, Peck was the real head of the movement and the organization was his.[1] He established newspapers, printed pamphlets, tracts, hand-bills. He organized anti-slavery societies, with headquarters in St. Clair County, and fourteen auxiliary societies in other counties.[2] He also organized the counties each with a county central committee and subordinate committees in every neighborhod, all under his personal supervision.

He traveled continuously, edited newspapers, distributed documents, preached and extorted from every rostrum and in every church, schoolhouse or private residence where his foot rested. His passion fired the zeal of his brother preachers and thus wherever he went he left a blazing trail which burned on with ever widening influence until election day. He also secured the assistance of able writers in other states, including the noted philanthropist, Roberts-Vaux,[3] of Philadelphia, where Peck had been a student. Prominent men who had been in favor of the convention yielded to his influence and joined the anti-slavery party, or became neutral and half-hearted in the struggle. The election occurred on Aug. 2, 1824, and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the party of liberty.

It must be remembered that since the Declaration of Independence there had been no triumph of freedom against slavery in a political contest in the United States and the victory was significant. As indicating the fullness of the vote, the record shows that 11,612 persons voted at the August election and only 4,532 at the presidential election a few months later.[4] It does not appear that Peck ever took part in

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* Flowers' History of the English Settlement in Edwards county, 198 et seq.

1W. H. Brown Historical sketch of the early movement in Illinois for the legalization of slavery, p. 37.

2Publication 10, Illinois Historical Library, 310.

3Moses History of Illinois, Vol. 1, p. 322.

4Moses History of Illinois Vol. 1, p. 324.

any other political campaign or was ever after specially interested in any election.

That his conduct in this stirring election was able, diplomatic and dignified is shown by the fact that his old time friendships were retained regardless of party. His influence was much greater after than before, all recognized that he spoke and acted from conviction and his arguments carried conviction. It is believed that no influence other than his discreet action could have paralyzed the activities of men like Ninian Edwards and Sidney Breese, who were relied upon by the convention party, but who did not assist their supposed friends. No historian since has been able to locate those men in the campaign of 1824.

PECK'S WORK AS EDUCATOR.

I have given at some length his connection with the contest over slavery, but while it lasted eighteen months, it was only an episode in Peck's life and did not divert him from his life work. He was a preacher and a moralist but he could not comprehend a life of religion and morality unassociated with the best of schools. The educational idea was a passion with him. This passion possessed him in his youth and it never left him. Scarcely had he arrived at St. Louis before he organized a church and a school. He was the pastor of the church. He was the teacher of the school. His idea of education was a "mind trained to habits of thinking, to logical reasoning, to readiness of speech."[1]

In 1819 he was planning a school for higher education. He visited Upper Alton, with a view to such location, then removed his family to St. Charles, Mo., and opened St. Charles Academy, but the teacher who filled the various chairs was absent so much on preaching tours that the school was scarcely born before it died. He had much to do with the passage of the Illinois school law, passed in 1825. ,

In 1826 he visited the State capital at Vandalia. There he met many public men and ministers and secured their promise of coöperation to establish an institution of learning at Rock Spring, in St. Clair county, on ground to be donated by himself. The outside help amounted to little more than a nominal board of trustees. Peck did the work and carried the burdens.

In 1825 a young man named John Milcot Ellis[2] was set apart for gospel work in the Old South Church in Boston. The charge contained the instruction "to build up an institution of learning which shall bless the west for all time." Ellis came at once to Kaskaskia and spent the next four years in looking for a proper location for his school. One day he passed on horseback by Rock Spring and found the brawny Peck chopping logs for a building. "What are you doing here, stranger?" asked Ellis, and Peck replied, "I am building a theological seminary."[3] A strong friendship ensued. Each cheered and encouraged the other in his enterprise. Peck visited his friends in New England and secured a small fund for his new school, and in November,

1Babcock's Life of John M. Peck, 151.
2Roy, Fifty Years of Home Missions, Publication No. 10, Illinois Historical Library, 278.
3The Pioneer School, a history of Shurtleff College, 33.

1827, Rock Springs Seminary was opened with teachers from the east. Rev. James Lemen was president of the new school. Ellis proceeded to Jacksonville, where later, by the help of the Yale Band, the foundation of Illinois College was laid. The average attendance of Rock Spring Seminary for the first four years was about fifty; and the total number enrolled during the time was 242. (Note Peck circular 157.)

Among the students were Ninian Edwards, son of the governor. Don Morrison of Belleville, and William and Penelope Pope, children of Nathaniel Pope, then Judge of the United States court of Illinois.[1]

SHURTLEFF COLLEGE.

A meeting of the board of trustees July 26, 1831, at the residence of B. F. Edwards, in Edwardsville, was the origin of the removal of the school to Upper Alton, a site previously decided upon by Peck and Dr. John Going, of missionary fame, as a location by reason of its proximity to the great rivers, suitable to serve the future population of Illinois and Missouri. The removal of the library and other property was made at once and here the school has since been conducted. The first charter was granted under the name of Alton Seminary, but was so restricted in some particulars that Peck was not satisfied with it and at the session of the Legislature of 1834-5, by making common cause with Ellis and his associates on behalf of Illinois College and with friends of McKendree College, which had by that time come into existence, all were given charters more to their liking. The Peck school was by this enactment called Alton College of Illinois, and the same year, by reason of what was then considered a handsome donation from Benjamin Shurtleff, of Boston, the name was changed to Shurtleff College.

To the day of his death the college was dear to him as the apple of his eye. He taught theology; he traveled as financial agent. In one trip he covered 6,000 miles and raised $20,000. He tried by all means to induce a patronage of worthy students and the last strenuous labors of his life were in behalf of Shurtleff College. The institution suffered from the beginning the vicissitudes incidental to the time, chiefly a lack of funds for the erection of suitable buildings and to pay the salaries of competent teachers.

From 1836 to 1841 the average attendance was eighty-eight. The students were mostly the sons of farmers. Less critical than the farmer boys of today, they, as a rule, made the most of their opportunities. The teachers were men of unusual mental and moral force, thoroughly devoted to their work. They came from the east, secured through Peck's influence, and they left the impress of their strong personality upon the sturdy young manhood of the western student body. All honor to those pioneer professors[2] Peck, Russel, Loomis, Colby, Washington Leverett and his brother Warren, Newman, Bulk-

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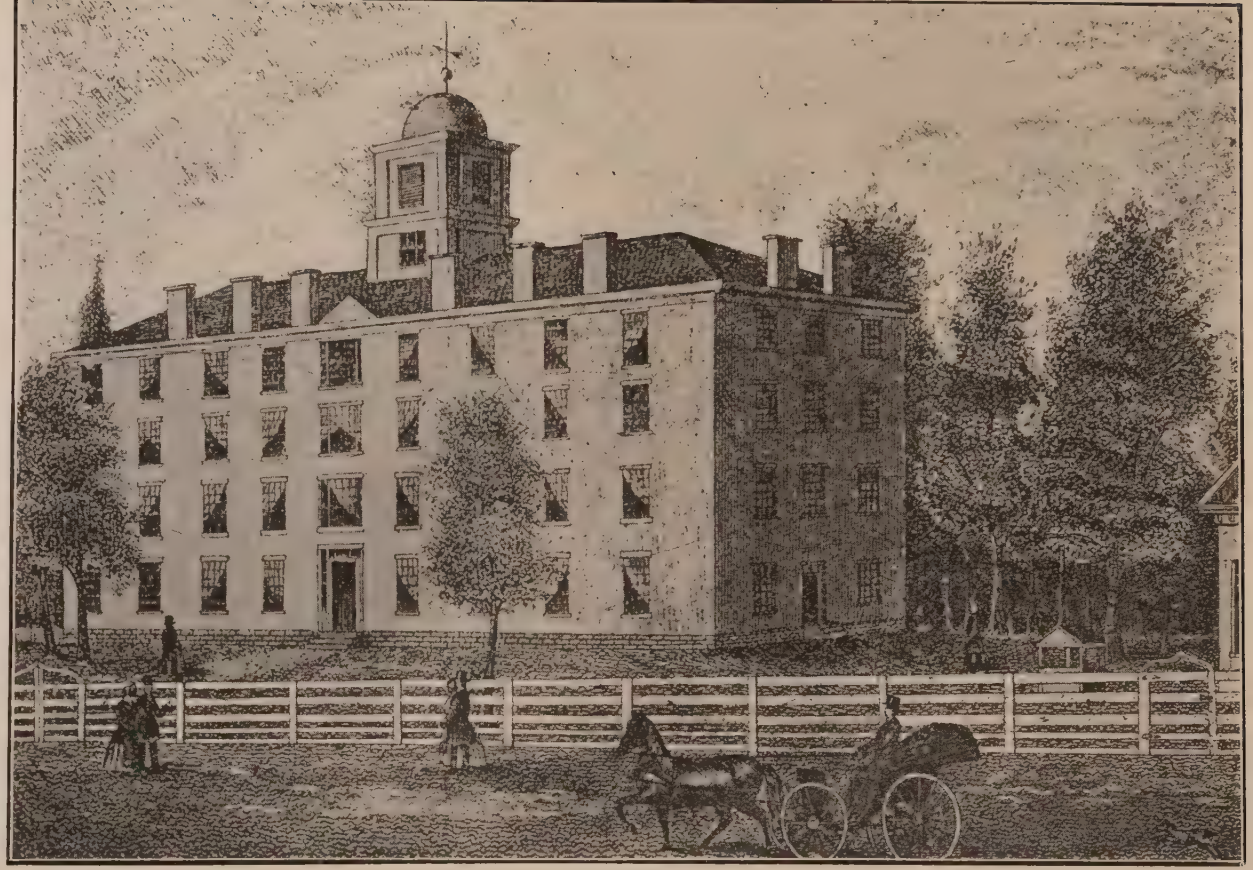
1The Pioneer School, a history of Shurtleff College, by A. K. deBlois, 40.
2The Pioneer School, a history of Shurtleff College.



SHURTLEFF COLLEGE.

The Dormitory fifty years ago.

ley, Howes, Read, Fairman, Castle, Kendrick and their many associates.[1] For the work they accomplished their compensation was wholly inadequate, even for that day, and insignificant when compared with the salaries now paid for men of their ability. Many of the young men earned the entire cost of their college course, tuition, board, clothing and books by the manual labor they performed during the interim of college duties.

One illustration: In 1834 a youth of seventeen,[2] together with his brother, entered the school without a dollar. For two years he remained and earned his entire expenses by the work of his hands. Among other labors he performed, he and his brother cleared the trees and stumps from a new street laid out from Upper Alton to Middletown, for which they were paid by the authorities. This young man became one of the greatest lawyers in the west; was a distinguished general in the civil war, was Governor of Illinois and United States Senator. His revered widow remains with us and his daughter is the secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society.

During the War of the Rebellion the sons of Shurtleff in great numbers joined the Union army.[3] At one time, in the year 1864, the number in the service was one hundred and forty and the school for

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1—John Russell, LL.D., was a teacher at Rock Spring from its foundation and became its principal. He also became principal of Alton Seminary. He was a graduate of Middlebury College and a teacher by profession.

Hubbell Loomis, born in Connecticut in 1775, was a thorough educator. Became connected with the school in 1832, was president of the college and retained a general interest in its work and its students until his death in 1872 at the ripe age of 97. He was for forty years a mighty influence for good to the young men thus brought in contact with him. The writer was present at his funeral.

Lewis Colby, a young man of unusual talent, was a professor in the college and theological department, 1837-40.

Washington Leverett, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, 1836, a graduate of Brown University, had been a teacher there one year and in Columbian College, Washington, D. C., one year. He remained in close association with the college as professor and officer for fifty-three years. He died in 1889, full of years and honors.

Warren Leverett, brother of Washington, professor in the college from 1837 till 1868. Died in 1872. The writer attended his funeral.

Zenas B. Newman, Shurtleff professor, 1837 to 1844.

Dr. Justus Buckley was a tutor in the college prior to his graduation in 1847. A man of great pulpit ability. Connected with the college in various capacities ever after. He had known Peck and Loomis in their palmy days and was the trusted friend of the college until his death in 1898. He attended fifty-one commencements. Few better or stronger men ever labored in the cause of education.

Oscar Howes, professor of Greek from 1855 to 1875, when he resigned to accept a professorship in Madison University.

Daniel Reed, president of the college, 1856 to 1865. A finished scholar and gentleman.

Charles Fairman, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. One of the strongest men ever connected with the college. He had rare skill and great enthusiasm as a teacher. The writer acknowledges an indebtedness to Professor Fairman for his devoted attentions. He was an earnest seeker after the truth in all that he did and impelled the student to imbibe much of his zeal. He was with the college twenty years.

Orlando L. Castle came to the chair of rhetoric and belle lettres in 1853 and remained with the college until 1892. A grand man, a gentleman of the old school. His memory and his work remain to us in the person of his son, Professor L. M. Castle, now principal of the Springfield High School.

Dr. A. A. Kendrick, president of the college from 1872 to 1894. To a ripe literary and theological education he added a course in law. A speaker who secured a ready hearing upon the platform or in the pulpit. During his administration the work of the college was greatly improved and the endowment increased.

The writer was a student under Bulkley, Howes, Fairman, Castle and Kendrick and personally knew all the others except Peck, Russell and Newman.

2Personal recollections of John M. Palmer, 17. The Pioneer School, a History of Shurtleff College, 64.

3The Pioneer School, a History of Shurtleff College, 144.

a short time was virtually suspended. Several of these men rose to distinction as soldiers, becoming majors, colonels, brigadier generals and two rising to the rank of major generals.

To mention even the names of those who have won distinction in political or public life as governors of states, judges of supreme courts, or other courts, United States Senators, members of the House of Congress, ministers or consuls in the Department of State, senators or members of state legislatures, ministers of the gospel, missionaries to foreign lands, lawyers, physicians, college presidents, professors, teachers, authors, editors and members of the learned professions, would be to call a roll of hundreds, who have gone out from Shurtleff College, not including that large army of equally respectable and useful citizens who have labored for the common weal in less conspicuous stations of life.

I do not in this paper attempt to deal with the history of the college beyond that pioneer period covering the influences set in motion by Dr. Peck. The entire history of the school, down to the year 1900, has been well written by the late president, Dr. Austin K. DeBlois, in a volume entitled, "The Pioneer School; a History of Shurtleff College, the Oldest School in the Mississippi Valley." Dr. DeBlois is now pastor of the First Baptist church in Chicago.

Mr. Peck attracted the attention of Harvard University, which in 1852 conferred upon him its honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in the following year he attended its anniversary exercises as the guest of the president of the university.[2]

ASSOCIATION WITH PUBLIC MEN.

Peck knew and had much influence with the public men of his day. He attended the first constitutional convention at Kaskaskia in 1818, although not then a citizen of Illinois, and was a familiar visitor at the sessions of the General Assembly at Kaskaskia, Vandalia and Springfield. He repeatedly preached and delivered addresses in the legislative hall by desire of the General Assembly and on one such occasion at Vandalia the collection taken for him in behalf of Sunday schools was $260.[3] He also on one occasion officiated at the funeral of a member of the House. He took some part in the removal of the capitol to Springfield. Upon his arrival at county seats where court was being held many of the judges requested him to preach in the court room and adjourned court for the purpose.

He twice visited General Jackson[4] at the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee. He was a familiar friend of Daniel Boone,[5] who was frequently a member of the congregation where he preached. Later in 1845 Peck wrote the Life of Boone for "Sparks' American Biography." He had an interesting interview with Charles Dickens[6] when the latter was in Illinois in 1842. Every governor of Illinois up to 1858 was his familiar acquaintance and close friend. He was the

1The Pioneer School.
2Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 350.
3Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 210.
4Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 301, 333.
5Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 127, 341.
6Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 303.

frequent guest of Thomas Carlin[1] at his home in Carrollton and preached at his house. On one such occasion in 1822 Carlin and his wife professed the Saviour. Judge Reynolds of the supreme bench, then holding court in Carrollton, was one of the hearers and the following day adjourned court in order that Peck might preach to a larger audience in the court room. Reynolds became governor in 1830 and Carlin in 1838. Both were the lifelong friends of Peck and assisted him much in forwarding his great work of the schools and the gospel, and Governor Reynolds visited him in his last illness and after his death inscribed a memorial volume to his character.

January 3, 1841, he preached to a large audience in the State house in Springfield.[2] It was just after the conclusion of the political campaign of 1840, resulting in the election of Mr. Harrison, and the sermon applied some of the principles and methods of action used in the presidential contest to moral and religious uses.

In April following upon the death of the president in office, the first affliction of the kind suffered by the nation, he preached by request a national sermon in St. Louis to a vast concourse of people.[3]

He was closely endeared to Governor Edwards to the day of the latter's death, and his sermon on that occasion, which has been preserved in full, portrays the qualities of an eminent statesman in a manner to justify the perusal of young men.[4]

On one occasion, upon returning from a visit to the seat of government, where he had been mingling for some time with public men, he records his estimate of the influence of such association in the words, "I find them not good for the soul."[5]

His mind and his hand were alike trained to act promptly and with efficiency. The students desired to appear in a dramatic performance at a college exhibition. Dr. Peck with much care and elaboration prepared a drama called "Tecumthe,"[6] introducing the Indian character, the scheming British trader, the exposed pioneer settler and the various surroudings which his perfect knowledge of those characters enabled him to portray. He did it in such a way that the exhibition was a decided success.

A boat in which he was a passenger was wrecked by reason of a snag in the Mississippi river and some lives lost. He had no sooner escaped than he collected the facts and included them in a memorial to Congress, which resulted in an appropriation for the removal of obstructions to navigation in the river.[7]

HIS WORK AS A HISTORIAN.

There is one important subject connected with the life and work of Dr. Peck about which little has ever been said or written. That is his work as an historian. All his adult life he had been collecting and arranging historical matter pertaining to Illinois and the west. This first took concrete form in the "Guide for Emigrants," and "Gazetteer of Illinois." In addition to these he wrote the "Life of John Clark,"

1Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 178.
2Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 293
3Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 295.
4Life of Ninian Edwards, 243.
5Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 197.
6Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck, 279.
7Same, 331.

"Life of Daniel Boone," "Travelers' Directory," "Western Annals," and various small works. He also wrote for Reynold's Pioneer History of Illinois the chapter on the religious and moral history of the early American Immigrants to Illinois. He lectured repeatedly on subjects connected with the history of Illinois. He wrote with marvelous facility and spoke with ease, volubility and accuracy of statement. The public men of the State looked upon him as the most capable of their number to prepare a comprehensive history of the new state and he was urged by many persons of influence to undertake the work. In January and February, 1837, he delivered two lectures before the General Assembly at Vandalia, one on the French occupation of Illinois, 1673-87, and one on the Indian history of Illinois.[1] At the close of the second lecture an organization was formed and resolutions passed requesting him to write a complete history of Illinois, and a committee was formed to assist him in collecting materials. He already had vast quantities of matter for such work.

At different times also resolutions were passed by the Legislature furnishing him easy access to and copies of all public records and documents. In 1839, by request of the General Assembly, he delivered a lecture at Vandalia, on the Conquest of Illinois by George Rogers Clark. He was prominent in the first efforts to organize a State Historical Society, and was secretary of the Western Historical Society, taking in a much broader scope. He was not simply a collector. He wrote continuously for various periodicals, a series on the Pioneers of the West for the St. Louis Republican, "Notes on Illinois," for the National Era; "Incidents of Illinois," for the Illinois State Journal; literary addresses, such as the Battle of Buena Vista, John Quincy Adams, Elements of Western Character; indeed, every conceivable variety of addresses on public and historical subjects delivered before colleges and other public audiences, kept him bright and up-to-date in the work of ready historical composition. Still, the bulk of his time was employed in collecting and arranging for the greater work then in contemplation, the history of Illinois. This matter was stored in the seminary building at Rock Spring. In November, 1852, the building burned and with it burned the work of more than thirty years historical collecting by the man most capable to make the collection. This society will never know the full extent of the loss suffered by that conflagration. The senior Lemen in a report to the trustees of Shurtleff college records that "his diaries and journals fill nearly sixty volumes, the most of them large folios or quartos,"[2] and Dr. Peck further records:[3]

"My collection of files of papers, periodicals and other pamphlets, amounting to several thousand volumes, mostly unbound, but carefully filed, and my mineralogical collection from every part of the country where I have traveled, thoroughly arranged and labeled, together with much other matter which I had intended for some public institution to be preserved for generations to come, these can never be replaced."

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1 Babcock's Life of Peck, 271-282. 2 Lemen Communication.
3Babcock's Life of Peck, 349.

ROCK SPRING SEMINARY.

About the time Peck began to collect historical matter, a child was born in Erie county, New York, who was to become more valuable to us than any other man in this line of work. I refer to Lyman Copeland Draper.[1] The latter was educated at Granville, Ohio, where Peck frequently visited. Whether they met at that place there is no evidence, but they did meet later. Draper, in 1835, began by correspondence to collect materials similar to those which Peck for many years had been gathering. In 1840 Draper began that remarkable life of wandering and collecting which he followed without interruption for twenty-five years, and at intervals until his death in 1891. Peck visited Draper as his guest at Madison, Wisconsin, during the last year of his life, in 1857.[2] It would be interesting to know more of the friendship and associations of the two men. Draper left his entire collection to the Wisconsin Historical Society and that bequest makes the Wisconsin society the richest existing treasury of western history. How valuable it would be to us to have the Peck collections preceding as they did in time the period covered by the work of Draper.

Circulars Issued by Dr. Peck after the Removal from Rock Spring to Upper Alton.

For many years past individuals in the "far west" have perceived and deeply felt the necessity of an institution for ministerial and general education in connection with the Baptist denomination, and of adopting seasonable measures for the attainment of that object. In 1826 an individual made the attempt, raised about $750 in the eastern states, with books, various articles of bed clothing, etc., and with further aid received in Illinois, put up some cheap buildings, and the institution at Rock Spring, St. Clair county, Illinois, was opened in November, 1827. It continued in operation, with ordinary vacations, till May, 1831, when it was closed from the ill health of the person then in charge of it.

This incipient effort, carried farward without adequate funds, without permanent provision for competent instruction, furnished proof that a well regulated literary institution, properly conducted, would prove of immense service in this country to the cause of religion, and have a direct influence upon other measures designed to promote the well being of society.

During the continuance of the Rock Spring seminary, 242 youth, male and female, attended as students for various periods of time. Of these 33 professed to be converted while at the seminary, and 20 more after they had left it, many of whom dated their first serious impressions at that institution. Including such students as have since commenced the gospel ministry with those who were licensed preachers when they entered the seminary, and the number is eleven. Of this class one is deceased, one has been silenced and excluded from the church, but is now restored, two belong to the Methodist Episcopal church, and the remainder to the Baptists.

1Lyman Copeland Draper, a memoir by Reuben Gold Thwaites, from reprint edition of Volume 1, Wisconsin Historical Collections.

2Babcock's Life of J. M. Peck 358.

One of these is occupying a most important missionary field in Louisiana, under the patronage of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Many others of the former students of Rock Spring Seminary have been and continue to be useful teachers or superintendents in Sabbath schools.

Out of the whole number, sixteen are known to be dead, of which ten gave hopeful evidences of piety.

In 1830, from various circumstances combined, the public mind in Illinois was directed to the town of Alton as a commercial depot for an extensive portion of the State. Two town sites had been previously located, one on the river called Lower Alton, the other on elevated ground two miles and a half in the rear.

Upon the visit of the Rev. Mr. Going to this country in 1831, a proposition was made by a number of friends to remove the location of the seminary from Rock Spring to Alton.

After due consideration the proposition was accepted and the books, bed clothing and other movable property were transferred under the name of a loan, till such time as the affairs of the old institution could be adjusted, the buildings sold, and the avails transferred to Alton.

At a meeting held in Alton, June 4, 1832, seven gentlemen formed a compact and entered into a written obligation to advance each $100 (which they subsequently increased to $125) and to become jointly obligated for a loan of $800 more. With a part of this sum they purchased a valuable tract of land adjoining Alton of 122 acres for $400, and entered in the land office at government price ($1.25 per acre) 240 acres more in the rear of their first purchase.

Some subscriptions were then obtained from the citizens, and a two-story brick building, 40 feet by 32, with stone basement story, was erected and nearly finished. The cost of this building has been $1,625. They have sustained within it a respectable school for the common and higher branches of education having had from 25 to 60 scholars, from December, 1833, to the present time.

Of the present number, which exceed 50, seven are young men of promising talents, members of the Baptist church, three of whom are licensed preachers, and others are contemplating this work.

Memorial to Dr. John M. Peck, Communicated by Rev. James Lemen, Sr., for Use of the Board of Trustees of Shurtleff College.

1857.

Dr. John Peck was born in the parish of Litchfield, South Farm, Connecticut, Oct. 31, 1789. In the twentieth year of his age he married Miss Sarah Paine, who made him a discreet, faithful, self-denying wife, with whom he lived almost half a century, by whom he had seven sons and two daughters, and who preceded him in death but a short period. Shortly after his marriage both he and his companion made a public profession of religion, and united with the Congrega-

tional church in his native town. Soon after he removed to Green county, New York. He then became acquainted with some pious, well informed Baptists, through whose influence he became dissatisfied with his early supposed baptism. His mind became intensely exercised; he searched diligently all the books within his reach, consulted extensively the learned advocates of Pedo-Baptist usages, became perfectly satisfied that immersion was the only scriptural mode of baptism, and impelled by a determination ever to do his duty regardless of consequences, he and his companion put on the Lord Jesus Christ in baptism, according to the original institution. In the autumn of 1817, he, with his wife, and one child, accompanied by the Rev. James E. Welch, removed to the "great west," as the Mississippi valley was then called. They were under the appointment of the Board of Missions, both having received previous suitable training under the distinguished Dr. Stoughton. For the space of four years Dr. Peck, with indefatigable industry and energy, performed an incredible amount of labor in the state of Missouri, in the prosecution of his missionary duties, traveling, preaching, lecturing, organizing week-day and Sabbath schools, and circulating religious tracts and periodicals. Nor did he confine his labors to the few civilized Americans upon the field but extended them to the Indians and negroes. In 1821 this faithful ambassador removed to Illinois and located at Rock Spring, which became his home during life. Soon after his settlement at Rock Spring he organized a theological and high school, which under his faithful administration prospered for several years. At one time it numbered more than one hundred students. Some of our most talented ministers of the gospel and some of our most distingnished politicians received their education at this institution. The unwearied efforts of our departed brother in favor of Rock Spring Seminary and of Shurtleff College afford unmistakable proof of his interest in the cause of education. He was capable of placing correct value upon education, being himself profoundly learned. The honorary title of D. D. conferred upon him by one of our oldest and most distinguished universities was well merited. His vast store of learning was the result of his own personal efforts, without the aid of money, friends or institutions of learning, if we except some ten or twelve months training under Dr. Stoughton of Philadelphia. The principal part of his education was acquired after he began his labors as a minister of the gospel. The great want of early training which he experienced when he entered the ministry, with the difficulties which he encountered in obtaining suitable qualifications for the successful discharge of the important labors of his sacred trust, doubtless produced in him that readiness which he constantly exhibited through life to aid young ministers of the gospel, who were striving under adverse circumstances to acquire that intellectual discipline that would make them able ministers of the New Testament; and this influenced him at his death to bequeath the avails of his forthcoming biography to the noble purpose of educating indigent ministers. Had Elder Peck with his superior talents and boundless store of original knowledge, directed his attention to the study of the law, he might have stood at the head

of the bar at any court of the United States, or have filled some of the highest offices in our government; or, had he been ambitious to accumulate riches, with his personal acquaintance with rich capitalists of the east and tempting opportunities for speculation in the west, he might easily have amassed an independent fortune. But the affection which he cherished for his Master and his Master's cause, with the responsibilities of the exalted station which he was occupying, induced him to shut his ears to every trump of earthly fame, and to close his eyes upon the deceitful and perishable toys of wealth. Like Moses, "He chose rather to suffer affliction with the children of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season." That our lamented brother was not only an able minister, but also an able defender of the gospel, the labors both of his tongue and his pen have abundantly proven. That he was faithful, industrious and self-sacrificing in the discharge of his responsible duties, the multiciplicity of his labors afford ample testimony. Were his correspondence, dairies, journals, sermons, expositions, addresses, debates, lectures and printed volumes all collected in one mass, it is questionable whether the works of any individual minister of the gospel, from the days of Paul, would exhibit an equal amount. His diaries and journals fill nearly sixty volumes, the most of them large folios, or quartos, while the letters he wrote and received amounted sometimes to a thousand a year. His account shows that in publishing the "Pioneer," and similar publications, he sacrificed from his own hard earnings the sum of $2,500.00, all springing from a desire to benefit his fellow men. In his manners, Elder Peck seemed to exhibit a degree of coldness, yet he possessed a warm heart and deeply sympathized with those in distress. He was noble, generous and charitable in disposition. He scorned either national or sectional distinctons. He looked upon the various nations of the earth as composing one common family, and regardless of either country or complexion, wished to extend the benefit of his labors to all. His numerous contributions to foreign missions bespoke the interest he felt for the welfare of the perishing heathen. His frequent visits to the Indian academy in Kentucky, with the assistance he afforded in the adoption and execution of a system of Indian education, evnced the interest he had in the prosperity of the aboriginees of our country. The labors he performed in the city of St. Louis among the people of color, with the bequest he has made in his will for the colonization of Africans in the land of their ancestors, clearly demonstrates the desire he felt for the amelioration of the condition of this downtrodden race.

The nearer Dr. Peck approached his dissolution, the more devotional he became. He preached his last sermon from the advices of Joseph to his brethren. "See that ye fall not out by the way." The affectionate and wholesome counsel which he imparted, both to ministers and church members, will be long remembered by those who heard him. His last associational address was well calculated to remind the listeners of the discourse delivered by Moses at the foot of Mt. Nebo, just before he ascended the mount to dwell with God. The last time he attended public worship he preached to his church ,and closed with the

words of Simeon: "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation," and bursting into a flood of tears, he took his seat. He met the king of terrors with undaunted courage; with a composure of mind seldom witnessed on any occasion. He gave particular directions, both in regard to his burial and funeral exercises, even having procured his coffin two or three days before his death. Thus having all things in readiness, he departed this life a few minutes before 9:00 P. M., March 15, 1858. The night of his death was dark and cloudy, but he needed not the light of the natural sun; the beams of the uncreated sun gilded his path to his far-off home. On the following day, according to his own request, a funeral sermon was preached by James Lemen, Sr., Dr. Crowell, of St. Louis, and W. F. Boyakin, of Belleville, were present and assisted in performing the solemn services. His remains were interred by the side of his pious wife in Rock Spring cemetery. Twenty-nine days afterward, they were removed to the city of St. Louis; a second funeral service was then performed. Dr. Crowell delivered an appropriate commemorative discourse. A great multitude of friends followed his body to the Bellfontaine cemetery and there deposited it to wait the reward of the resurrection.

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

Rev. John Mason Peck.

By James Affleck.

No man was better known in the west than Rev. John Mason Peck in his day. He possessed a strong, vigorous intellect in an eminent degree, and an energy that shrank from no labor and research within his power. He united with the Baptist church in the state of New York, and in 1817 was appointed a missionary of the Baptist General Convention to the west. He went immediately to St. Louis and was for some years an itinerant missionary in Missouri and Illinois. In 1821 he located with his family at Rock Spring, where he established a seminary by money he raised in the east. He had charge of the seminary for some two years as principal. He published, in 1834, "A Gazetteer of Illinois and Emigrant's Guide," that induced a large emigration from the older states to Illinois and other parts of the west. In 1835, Shurtleff College, of Alton, was founded by his exertions, and Rock Spring Seminary was transferred to that institution. It was said that during that year Mr. Peck traveled 6,000 miles and raised $20,000 for endowment of Shurtleff College. He was appointed corresponding secretary and general agent for the American Baptist Publication Society, with his residence at Philadelphia, Pa. After two years he returned to his family at Rock Spring. In 1829 he published a Baptist paper at Rock Spring, called "The Pioneer," the first Baptist paper published in the west, which he continued for

ten or twelve years, and in his appeals to the church for aid he always said he was at considerable loss. He contributed largely to the different periodicals and edited "Annals of the West." Mr. Peck, in connection with John Messinger, published a sectional map of Illinois, embracing many new features in maps. The Sunday school found in Mr. Peck a most efficient supporter. The temperance cause may hail him as its best friend. Morality and religion were greatly advanced by his untiring exertions in Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky, where he kept up his missionary work and preaching at frequent intervals for many years. Mr. Peck took an active part in 1823-4 in defeating the movement for holding a convention to alter or change the State constitution in order to establish slavery in Illinois. By his individual exertions and personal efforts he was greatly instrumental in saving the State to freedom. Being an agent of the American Bible Society, his duties led him into different portions of the State, where he could and did perform the double duty if distributing the scriptures and anti-slavery principles at one and the same time.

The records here, in the Baptist Church, show that Mr. Peck was called, in 1840, as pastor, served one year and nine months and then resigned. He was again called to preside over this (Belleville) church on the 21st of November, 1847, and served one year. In 1847 he was a candidate for delegate to the convention called to revise our State constitution—George Bunsen and John McCully were the Democratic nominees for that position, Mr. Peck ran as an Independent Whig, and knew more of the history and wants of Illinois than both his opponents, but was badly defeated. Coming from the state of Connecticut, the hot-bed of Yankeedom and Abolitionism, Mr. Peck was not accorded a very cordial reception here by some of the Baptist ministers; especially the Lemens, Kinneys and the Badgleys. Mr. Peck convinced them that he was a regularly ordained Baptist minister and was entitled to their brotherly kindness and ministerial courtesy, but they never mingled much together. He was a favorite with the literary class and higher circles of society; was a frequent visitor of Governor Edward's the third Governor of Illinois, and baptized two of the Governor's children, Mrs. Daniel P. Cook and Ninian Wirt Edwards. Governor Edwards died of cholera on the 20th day of July, 1833, and Mr. Peck preached his funeral sermon, in the court house in Belleville, to a very large concourse of people.

Thomas Carlin, the sixth Governor of Illinois, became concerned about religion through the preaching of Mr. Peck, joined the Baptist Church at Carrollton and was baptized by immersion by Mr. Peck. Mr. Peck suffered a very serious loss by fire, in the destruction of his manuscripts, pamphlets, papers and other very valuable printed matter, the accumulations of a lifetime, which were stored in a room that caught fire, and all were destroyed.

In the history of John M. Peck, how much of adventure, of peril, of lifelong devotion, of the truest heroism, a preacher and missionary of the Baptist Church for more than forty years; poorly fed, illy paid, constantly traveling over a country destitute of roads and bridges. During the last year or two of his life he was too feeble to stand while

preaching and had to speak from a seat. The story of the early preacher is a tale of the heroic age, a type of a class that has almost passed away.

His family consisted of his wife and seven children; five sons and two daughters. None of his children inherited the energy and "push" of the father. They all survived him, but are unknown outside their immediate neighborhoods. Mr. Peck died at Rock Spring, St. Clair county, Illinois, and was buried in Bellfontaine cemetery, St. Louis. There is a neat column of marble erected over his remains. It is ten or twelve feet high, with the following inscription carved on it: "John Mason Peck. Born at Litchfield South Farms, Connecticut, October 31, 1789; died March 15, 1858. My witness is in heaven; my record is on high."

Belleville, Illinois, May, 1895.

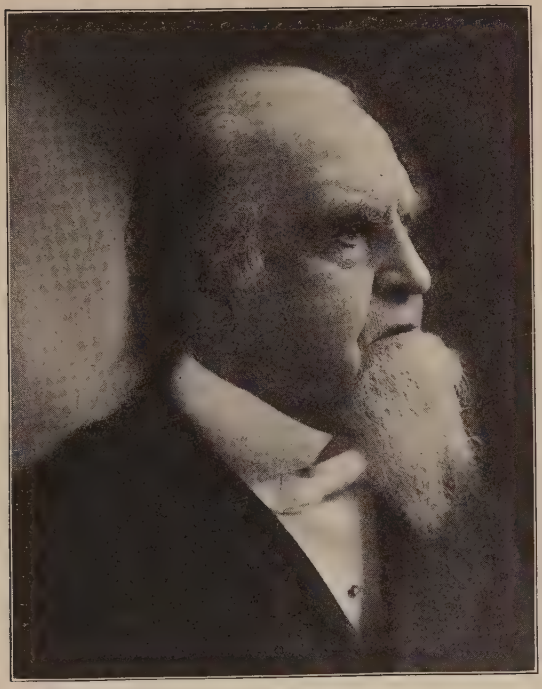
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE EARLY PHYSICIANS OF ILLINOIS.

By John H. Hollister, M. D.

The conspicuous part borne by the medical profession during the formative period of the State of Illinois was such as to render it not only desirable but essential that historic sketches of many of its prominent members should find a place in the history of the State and in the archives of the Illinois State Historical Society. During a period of more than fifty years of medical practice in the State, it has been the writer's privilege to have enjoyed a pleasant acquaintance with nearly all of the physicians to whom reference in this article is made. He has been fortunate in securing data pertaining to a few of the very early physicians, who came and went before his time, and yet there are unwritten histories of many such who were prominent in those older days, which in justice to their memories should find a place in the medical history of the State. It is to be hoped that further research in this direction will prove still more successful.

The initial work is already well begun, as in the histories of Dr. Robert Boal by Dr. J. F. Snyder, ex-president of this society, of Dr. Conrad Will, "the forgotten Statesman" by the same writer, and of Dr. George Cadwell by Mr. R. W. Mills, as they appear in the Transactions of this society in the years 1904 or 1905. It may not be out of place to refer to the paper of Mr. Mills contained in Publication No. 10,-1905, to show how early in the history of this State, its Legislature placed on record its estimate of incompetent physicians and to note the agency of Dr. Cadwell in securing that expression .

In 1821, so says Mr. Mills, Dr. Cadwell then a member of the Legislature, secured the passage of an Act for the establishment of a Medical Society, which provided for the division of the State into four medical districts, making the physicians in each district a body-corporate and making it their duty to meet at stated intervals to examine students and grant diplomas to such as were qualified to practice medicine. Also, that no one should practice medicine except those possessed of a medical diploma from one of these societies or from some respectable university in the United States. It also required registeration of births and deaths and provided a method of relief in case of excessive charges for medical services. This action of the Legislature is here reproduced to show how far legislative restrictions in 1821 antedated the creation of our present State Board of Health which has been doing admirable work along the same line.



DR. JOHN H. HOLLISTER.

It is impossible in continuing the historic work so well begun, to establish an absolute line of demarkation between the very "early physicians" and those who followed a little later, or to present them in either alphabetical or chronological order. The writer ventures to draw a purely arbitrary line at the year 1860 and to include, with "early physicians" those who were in active practice in the State previous to that date. It is also impossible to include within the limits of this paper the histories of a large number of those who have equal claims to a place in this connection, in the historic records. Doubtless in due time, their proper recognition will be secured.

In the preparation and grouping of these sketches, it has seemed that so far as possible they should be prepared by surviving friends and accordingly in answer to personal requests, a number of these have been thus secured and are here first presented for publication. In other cases recourse has been had to sketches already published from which transcript and abstract have been made. Among the writings so consulted and from which citations have been made, the writer is especially indebted to those contained in The Transactions of the Illinois State Medical Society, the publishing house of Munsell & Co. of Chicago, in their "Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois," "Distinguished American Physicians and Surgeons," Early Medical Chicago, by Dr. J. Nevins Hdye, and the Chicago Clinic and Pure Water Journal. So far as possible permission for such citations has been secured.

Such has been the prominence of many of the men here referred to, that justice to their memories demands for them far more ample notice than is here printed, and it is to be presumed that for such, special papers will yet be prepared, more fully expressive of their work and worth. Those solicited for this article, appear in the main as prepared by their authors, and the writer desires gratefully to acknowledge the assistance so kindly rendered.

Other chapters pertaining to the early physicians remain to be written and when such a history is in a measure complete, it will be more evident than now how largely the influence of the medical profession has been felt in giving moral tone to society, in the development of educational institutions, in the establishment of hospitals, in the promotion of sanitary science and in active service in securing legislation, having for its purpose the extermination of medical quackery, the promotion of the health of the community at large and the control of preventable dseases.

The following historical sketches are herewith submitted for the consideration of the Society and for such action as may be deemed appropriate:

Dr. Edmund Moore.

Dr. Edmund Moore, a pioneer physician and surgeon of Morgan county, was born in Elphin, County Roscommon, Ireland, May 26, 1798, a son of Lewis and Ellen (Lockwood) Moore. The paternal ancestry of the family is Scotch-Irish. Dr. Moore's mother was a descendant of the historic Shannon family, and had two brothers who attained great distinction in British military and naval affairs. One of these,

a lieutenant under Nelson, commanded a ship at the battle of the Nile, and also fought at the battle of Copenhagen and at Trafalgar, where Nelson was killed. He died at the Soldiers' Home at Greenwich. Another brother, who became a general in the British army, was in the East India service for many years, and died while in the East, the husband of an East Indian princess.

When Edmund Moore was an infant in arms, his parents came to the United States, locating temporarily at Frankfort, Ky. Soon afterward they removed to Florida, then a Spanish colony, and subsequently to Louisiana, then under French dominion, remaining about five years in the two provinces. Returning to Bloomfield, Nelson county, Ky., the elder Moore took up a tract of land and spent the remainder of his life there. There Edmund Moore was also reared and educated. After reading medicine under the supervision of Dr. Bemis at Bardstown, Ky., and attending lectures at Louisville, he began practice under a state license at Rockport, Ind., remaining there until his removal to Morgan county, Ill., in 1827. Here he was examined and licensed by the State of Illinois. Upon arriving in Morgan county he purchased a tract of land located about one mile east of the farm now owned by George W. Moore, his son, erected a cabin, and occupied that place about six years, practicing his profession and improving his farm. In 1833 he located on Section 29 of the same township, where he spent the balance of his life, dying there May 29, 1877.

Dr. Moore was a splendid specimen of manhood, mentally and physically. He typified the "doctor of the old school," immortalized by Ian MacLaren, the Scotch novelist; for, during the half century of his residence in Morgan county, he was called upon to perform a vast amount of professional work for which he expected and received no remuneration. His practice necessitated very extensive rides throughout the surrounding country, and his trips to relieve suffering humanity were frequently attended by great personal risk, through exposure to the elements in a wild and sparsely settled country. Most of his early practice was accomplished on horseback, with the old-fashioned saddlebags. For many years there were no other physicians in his neighborhood, and it was not infrequently the case that he was called to ride as far south as Edwardsville. Many of his rides covered a distance of sixty miles or more from his home. He became an acknowledged expert in the diagnosis and treatment of the fevers and other diseases peculiar to the Illinois and Mississippi valleys. During the Black Hawk war he was surgeon of the Third Regiment of Illinois troops, which rendezvoused but was not called into active service. During the war of 1812 he had endeavored to enlist for the service under General Harrison in the Canadian campaign, but was not accepted on account of his delicate health.

Dr. Moore was well acquainted with Abraham Lincoln as a boy and man. While practicing his profession in Spencer county, Ind., he was frequently called upon to attend the Lincoln family, but lost sight of the future president after his own removal to Morgan county. After Lincoln's election to Congress, the two men met one day on the streets of Jacksonville, when the former, extending his hand to Dr.

Moore, asked him if he did not remember his former patient. The doctor finally recognized him and in later years reverted to the incident with feelings of great pleasure.

Though deeply interested in public matters, the only office which Dr. Moore ever consented to fill was that of township treasurer of school funds. A Whig in early life, he became a Republican upon the founding of that party, voted for John C. Fremont for the presidency, in religion, stanchly devoted to Presbyterianism, he served as an elder in the Pisgah Presbyterian church for about thirty years.

Dr. Moore was married November 30, 1823, to Mary O'Neal, who was born near Bardstown, Ky., May 18, 1796, a daughter of Bryant and Ann (Cotton) O'Neal. Her father was born in Ireland, accompanied his parents to Virginia, was reared in that colony, and afterward removed to Kentucky. He served in the Revolutionary war, and for his patriotism and service, received from Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, (which included the territory now embraced within the limits of Kentucky), title to a tract of valuable land near Bardstown, Ky. Bryant O'Neal fought under St. Clair when the latter was defeated by the Indians in the Ohio campaign, and also under General Wayne at the battle of Fallen Timbers, near Fort Wayne. His son Thomas, the only brother of Mary O'Neal, saw valiant service in the war of 1812. He fought throughout Harrison's campaign, helped to defeat the British forces at the battle of the Thames, where Proctor surrendered and Tecumseh was killed, and personally assisted in the capture of the noted British general. He held a commission as sergeant-major in a regiment of dragoons. It is worthy of note that Ann Cotton O'Neal was an eye-witness to a battle between the British and Continental forces during the revolution, which occurred in her father's wheat field in Fairfax county, Va.

A romantic incident of the revolutionary period is related by George W. Moore, and is here preserved for the first time in print. During an engagement between the British and Colonial troops near the home of the Cotton and the O'Neal families in Fairfax county, Va., a British soldier who had received a serious bullet wound in the abdomen, dragged himself to the Cotton home and asked for a drink of milk. This was furnished to him by Mrs. Cotton, who invited the sufferer into the house that he might receive the care and treatment necessary to his recovery. The milk that he drank passed from his digestive organs through the wound, soothing it and eventually curing him. He remained at the Cotton home, and ultimately transferred his allegiance to the patriot cause.

Dr. William B. Herrick.

Dr. William B. Herrick, first president of the Illinois State Medical Society, was born at Durham, Maine, September 20, 1813. He was the eldest son of Jacob and Abigail Scott Herrick. His father, and also his grandfather, Rev. Jacob Herrick, were both men of liberal education and culture, and of considerable local influence. His earlier educational advantages were such as the neighborhood district school afforded. He

also had a great fondness for books, which he indulged and stimulated by reading works of standard authors, which he found in the libraries of his father and that of his grandfather, who was then the village minister. At the age of sixteen years he began life for himself as a school teacher. From this time his education was acquired by his own exertions. After attending for a time the Gorham Academy at Gorham, Maine, he determined to adopt the medical profession. He attended medical lectures at Bowdoin and Dartmouth colleges, and graduated from the medical department of the latter institution November 16, 1836.

Immediately after his graduation he took charge of the practice of Dr. McKeen at Topsham, Maine, during his absence for a year in Europe.

In 1837 he came west, settling in Louisville, Kentucky. He was then appointed assistant demonstrator of anatomy in the Louisville Medical College. In 1839 he became a resident of Hillsboro, Illinois.

In the following year he was married to Martha J. Seward, daughter of John B. Seward, one of the early settlers of the State. After a residence of four years in Hillsboro he determined to seek a wider field, and in 1844 he removed to Chicago. During the first year of his residence in that city he was invited to fill the chair of anatomy in Rush Medical College. This position he occupied until the year 1857, when the failure of his health compelled him to abandon the practice of his profession. During this time he also filled the chair of surgery in the same institution during a temporary absence of Professor Brainard in Europe. At the breaking out of the Mexican war Professor Herrick received the appointment of assistant surgeon in the 1st Regiment of Illinois Volunteers. Although appointed assistant surgeon, he in fact performed from the first the duties of surgeon of his regiment. He was in General Wool's division, and took part in the battle of Buena Vista. After this battle the sick and wounded were separated into two divisions, one of which was placed under his care and transferred under his charge to Saltillo. Here he had charge of the general hospital, till, on account of ill health, he was obliged to return north, and finally to resign his commission, which he did May 24, 1847.

Returning to Chicago, though broken in health, he entered again upon the active practice of his profession and the duties of his position in the medical college. From this time until the year 1857 his life as a practitioner, as a teacher, and as a citizen, was an active one. He was specially active in the formation and development of medical interests in the city and State. He was one of the organizers of the Illinois State Medical Society, and was chosen its first president. He was also an active and prominent Freemason, and during the year 1856 held the position of grand master of that organization.

Dr. Herrick never recovered from the sufferings and sickness of his Mexican campaign. During the years which followed he was the victim of a painful and severe nervous disease, which gradually undermined his constitution until his health was completely broken, and in the year 1857 he was compelled to abandon active life and to seek a change of climate. In that year he returned to his native state with his family, and resided there in retirement until his death, which occurred December 31, 1865.

It will be seen from this brief sketch that Dr. Herrick's position and success were obtained before his forty-fourth year amid the difficulties of failing health. His success and the qualities which contributed to it cannot be more fittingly summed up than in the language of a tribute paid to his memory by his professional brethren. The following is taken from the report of the committee on necrology, submitted to the Illinois State Medical Society at its nineteenth anniversary meeting, held in Chicago, May 20, 1869:

"His worth and winning address advanced him rapidly to the very front rank of his profession, and his high position, accorded him by common consent, was held without seeming effort as long as health permitted him to practice his profession. * * * He became at once one of the master spirits of our State as a medical teacher. * * * Till the present generation shall pass away his name will be a dear household word in many of the first families of Chicago, who became ardently attached to him as their family physician. * * * To him seemed accorded by common consent positions and honors which others with effort might fail to obtain. Possessed of rare physical and mental developments, Professor Herrick was a man of noble bearing and winning address. Genial and kind of heart, friendship among his friends ripened to affection, so that for few men has there been shown that warmth of personal attachment. As a thinker he was profound, logical and original. As a teacher, happy in the communication of his ideas, and instruction in every utterance. His genial good nature and kindness of heart endeared him especially to the junior members of the profession. None of us turned ever to him for sympathy, counsel or material help in vain. This, with his great professional worth, so endeared him to the hearts of the younger medical men of Illinois that the name of William B. Herrick is held with special endearment by all the junior physicians who knew him."

Alexander Wolcott, M. D.

In 1804 John Kinzie had left his trading post on St. Joseph river in Michigan to settle at the point where Chicago was yet to be and where his eldest daughter Eleanor Marion Kinzie afterwards to become the wife of Dr. Wolcott, was born in 1805. In the same year that John Kinzie settled at this point, Fort Dearborn was being constructed but on the army roll as surgeon, no name appeared until that of Dr. John Cooper in 1810. Here in 1812 the massacre of the troops at the garrison occurred and the lamented surgeon Dr. Van Voorhies then on duty fell a victim of Indian atrocity on that memorable day. For years a death pall had settled on the place until in 1816 Fort Dearborn was again occupied by United States soldiers and the names of Dr. John Dale and Dr. McMahon appear on the roster as surgeons.

Dr. Alexander Wolcott became a resident of the Chicago hamlet in 1820 having been appointed by the federal government as Indian agent for the northwest and stationed near Fort Dearborn. He was a native of Windsor, Conn., and was born in February, 1790. In 1809 he was a graduate of Yale College and in 1812 he was surgeon mate in the United States army. The year of his arrival was memorable by the voyage of Gen. Lewis Cass, then governor of Michigan and residing at Detroit accompanied by Mr. Schoolcraft of Macinac. They skirted the entire shore of the lower peninsula of Michigan and in which voyage Dr. Wolcott was their companion. At the conclusion of the celebrated treaty which was consummated in 1821 Dr. Wolcott

had so far gained confidence of the Indian tribes as to bear a conspicuous part in the conclusion of the treaty and his services were especially recognized by the general government. This treaty led to the establishment of garrisons farther west and in 1823 the troops at Fort Dearborn were withdrawn.

Dr. Wolcott was left in charge of the property of the government until the fort was re-occupied by troops in 1828.

In July, 1823, Dr. Wolcott was married, as before stated, to Miss Eleanor Marion Kinzie, the eldest daughter of John Kinzie. Although others have aspired to the honor of being the first white child born in Chicago it is generally conceded that it should be accorded to Miss Eleanor Marion Kinzie.

After Dr. Wolcott closed his relations with the general government he still continued to reside near the old "Kinzie House" on the north side of the city until his death which occurred in 1830. His official duties were discharged with utmost ability and it was largely through his influence that further depredations by the Indians were prevented, and had his life been prolonged for two years more there might have been no "Black Hawk War."

Elijah D. Harmon, M. D.

Dr. Harmon was the first physician not sent hither by the United States government to settle in Chicago as a practicing physician. He came to this place in May, 1830, a few months previous to the death of Dr. Alexander Wolcott. He was born in Bennington, Vermont, Aug. 20, 1782, and commenced medical practice in Bennington, Vermont, in 1806. In 1808 he was married to Miss Welthyem Loomis. In 1812 he served as a volunteer surgeon on the Saratoga, Capt. McDonough's flagship, and was on board in the celebrated naval battle near Plattsburg in 1814. Later, for two years, he resumed medical practice in Burlington and in 1816 was appointed postmaster of that place. He then determined to locate on the western frontier and came to Fort Dearborn. The next year his family followed him and he tendered his services to the few families as a general practitioner. In 1832 occurred what is known as the "Black Hawk War" during which time Dr. Harmon was most active as a practitioner, but when the cholera broke out he also had medical charge of an isolated camp of United States soldiers two miles distant from the fort. During the period from 1832 to 1834, Dr. Harmon was actively engaged in medical practice and he became noted for the successful performance of some important surgical operations. During this time he located 140 acres of land in the south division of Chicago and Harmon Court was so named in his honor. In 1834 he became largely interested in business enterprises in the state of Texas and spent a large portion of each year there until the date of his death in 1869.

Philip Maxwell, M. D.

He as a native of Guilford, Vt. and born in 1799. He was a student of medicine in New York city, but took his medical degree in Vermont.

He was a man of varied attainments and unusually popular for he had hardly settled in practice in Sacketts Harbor, N. Y., before he became a member of the State Legislature. Following this he was next under appointment as assistant surgeon in the United States army and assigned to duty at Fort Dearborn, Ill., where he reported for duty as surgeon of the garrison in 1833. Later he was promoted to the rank of surgeon and in the division under command of Gen. Zachary Taylor was in service with this division in the Florida war.

In 1844, having resigned his position in the army he returned again to Chicago and engaged in the practice of medicine. Although actively engaged in medical practice and as once a member of the New York legislature, here we find him again a legislative member, this time in Illinois. While making a very creditable record in the State Assembly he still maintained a close relation with his patients who welcomed his return.

He was a man with over-flowing humor and though rollicking with wit and mirth when not on duty, yet when he entered the sick room there was none more gentle, tender and quiet than he. The coruscations and sallies of wit and repartee which used to pass between him and Dr. Egan as they used to meet at the billiard table in the old Tremont House were long remembered by those who waited the coming of these men. They were a royal pair and none were the worse for the amusement they there enjoyed from meeting them. Physically these men were well mated. Dr. Maxwell stood six feet and two inches in height and weighed 275 pounds and yet he was agile and seemed comely in his proprotions, while Dr. Egan not as tall was quite his equal otherwise.

Dr. Maxwell relinquished medical practice in Chicago in 1855 and was one of the pioneers to settle upon the banks of beautiful Lake Geneva in Wisconsin, now so noted, whither he retired and where he died in 1859 at the age of sixty years. He is still remembered by those who knew him as one of the most prominent pioneer physicians in the northwest.

Daniel Brainard, M. D.

Dr. Brainard was born in Westernville, Oneida, Co., N. Y., May 15, 1812, having received a thorough preliminary education, he studied medicine with Dr. Pope, a prominent surgeon in Rome, N. Y., and graduated at Jefferson College, Philadelphia, in 1834. After practicing for a year in Whitesboro in his native county, he came to Chicago in September, 1835.

By reason of some critical operation, successfully performed, after two years of limited practice he achieved special notoriety and soon became the leading surgeon of the northwest.

In 1839 he visited Paris, France, in the furtherance of his studies, having in mind the organization of a medical college in Chicago which was accomplished in December, 1843, and named in honor of the celebrated Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia. His skill as a bold and successful operator assured for him rapid promotion and at the end of his life he held the first position as a surgeon in all the northwestern states. In

1852 he visited Europe for the second time and was elected an honorary member of the Surgical Society of Paris. Returning to his chosen field he gave his untiring energy to the practice of his profession and to the development of Rush Medical College and with results so manifest as to more than fulfill his most sanguine expectations.

In the meantime in connection with his vast amount of professional labor he devoted much time to experimental research and original observation. During the years of 1849 to 1854 inclusive he conducted a series of experiments by injecting iodine and iodide of potash into serous sacks in ascites, hydrocephalus, spinabifida and even edema of the extremities. He also conducted a series of experiments for the cure of ununited fractures by subcutaneous perforation of the fractured end of the bones, and for a thesis upon this subject presented at the meeting of the American Medical Association in St. Louis in 1852 he received the prize which was awarded that year.

In 1861 at the outbreak of the civil war he was appointed a member of the State Examining Board for the examination of candidates for appointment as surgeons and assistant surgeons to the numerous regiments of Illinois volunteers.

"Physically" says a writer in the "Biography of American physicians and surgeons," "he was tall and well proportioned, dignified in manner, bearing on reserve. As a public speaker he was clear, forcible, always commanding attention, whether, in public or in the lecture room." He maintained the controlling influence as president of Rush Medical College and as professor of surgeory until his sudden death which occurred at the early age of 54 years. He died of cholera in Chicago during a period when it prevailed so severely as an epidemic in 1866. At the time of his death he was engaged on an extended surgical work which has not been completed, but those who have listened to his clinical lectures and have witnessed his skill as an operator will long remember him as one of the most eminent of American surgeons.

Levi D. Boone, M. D.

Dr. Boone was born near Lexington, Kentucky, December 18, 1808, and died in Chicago in 1882. He was a distant relative of Daniel Boone. He was a medical graduate of Transylvania University in 1829 at the age of 21 years.

He commenced the practice of medicine at Edwardsville, Illinois, and located later at Hillsboro in the same state. During the Black Hawk war in 1832 he served as captain of a cavalry company. Following this interruption he settled in Chicago in 1836. He served as city physician from 1849 to 1851, and during that period when the cholera epidemic was so severe he rendered most valuable service to the public.

He served for three terms as alderman and in 1855 was elected mayor of the city.

During his administration an ordinance was passed raising the liquor license from $300 to $500 per annum. Several persons were arrested and an effort on the part of their friends to liberate them by force a conflict occurred between the rioters and the civil authorities,

but the firmness and promptness of the mayor sustained by a sufficient police force, the "beer rebellion," as it was termed, was promptly and permanently controlled. After his term of office expired Dr. Boone again resumed medical practice and was esteemed as one of our most prominent physicians. During the time that the confederate prisoners were in confinement at Camp Douglas he served as one of the attending physicians.

He was one of the founders of the Chicago University and one of the strong pillars of the Baptist church.

He was married in his early professional life, his wife being the daughter of Judge Smith of the Illinois Supreme Court. Eleven children were born to them, of whom six survived their parents.

Calvin Truesdale, M. D.

Dr. Calvin Truesdale, who for half a century was a prominent practitioner of medicine in Rock Island, died on Sunday morning, June 9, 1895, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Joseph Gaskell, of heart trouble, after a long and heroic struggle of over five months. His last illness dated from the 4th of February and at that time he had barely recovered from a previous severe attack which had caused his family and friends much anxiety. He went with Mrs. Truesdale then to Minneapolis in order to obtain the rest which he found impossible at home on account of the professional demands upon him, and was never able to return alive. The attack to which he succumbed was a very severe one and from the first there was little or no hope of his recovery. Indeed the first dispatches received indicated that death might be anticipated within twenty-four hours, but the doctor was a man of remarkable vitality and lingered, slowly losing strength from February to June. Shortly aftr Dr. Truesdale's arrival in Minneapolis he began to complain of pains in the region of the heart and although he was a man of remarkable energy and determination, he was compelled to take to his bed. Everything that kind and attentive relatives and friends and medical skill could do was done for the sick physician, but all to no avail. His condition grew worse almost constantly from the time he was compelled to take his bed.

Dr. Truesdale was born in Austintown, Trumble county, Ohio, Oct. 2, 1822, and was consequently in his 73rd year. His parents died when he was a mere boy and he was reared and educated by his uncle, Dr. Joseph Truesdale, of Poland, Ohio. He was a member of the first class and attended the first course of lectures delivered at the Cleveland Medical College and graduated from that school. He received the Adundem degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1882 from the Western Reserve University, at Cleveland, Ohio. For sometime after graduating he practiced medicine at Mahoningtown, Lawrence county, Pa., afterwards at Poland, Ohio.

He located at Rock Island in September, 1854, since which time his life and labors are well known to the citizens of Rock Island as in the entire surrounding country. He was a physician of fine culture, kind hearted and faithful in his discharge of duties. He was a thorough surgeon, as his many varied difficult operations and re-

coveries bear him testimony. He was a member of the Iowa and Illinois Central District Medical Society, the Illinois State Medical Society, the American Medical Association and of the staff of St. Anthony's hospital. He had been in the active practice of his profession more than fifty years.

Dr. Truesdale was married on the first of June, 1851, shortly after returning from California (he was an "Argonaut of 1849) to Miss Charlotte M. Haynes, a native of Vernon, Ohio, who was born in 1826. Four children blessed their union, William H. Truesdale, general manager of the Rock Island road; Mrs. Mary S. Gaskell, of Minneapolis; Charles C. Truesdale, of Rock Island, and Harry C. Truesdale.

As a citizen none better ever blessed a community. He took a great and commendable interest in public affairs and was a most valuable member of the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1870, which gave us our present organic law. He served the city of Rock Island two terms as mayor, being elected in 1860 and again in 1866 and in 1872 accepted the liberal Republican nomination for Congress. He also served as postmaster at Rock Island, having been appointed by President Lincoln. On account of personal friendship President Lincoln also offered Dr. Truesdale another position of importance, which was declined. During Dr. Truesdale's 42 years' practice of medicine and surgery—particularly surgery—in Rock Island, he was so unselfish, so untiring in his desire to alleviate suffering and assist the poor that his death was widely mourned.

Ephraim Ingals, M. D.

The Ingals family was planted in America by Edmund Ingals, who came from England with Governor Endicott's colony, landing at Salem in September, 1628. Edmund Ingals was the first settler of Lynn, Massachusetts. From him all of the name of Ingalls or Ingals on this side of the Atlantic have descended. Of this number Ephraim Ingals was born in Abington, Connecticut, May 26, 1823, the youngest of nine children. His father and mother both dying before he was eight years old, the family became scattered. In 1837 young Ephraim came to an older brother in what is now Lee county, Illinois, where he worked three years on a farm. He attended school in Princeton, Mt. Morris and Jacksonville, Illinois. He attended lectures in Rush Medical College during the sessions of 1845-46 and 18467-47, graduating in February of the last year. After practicing medicine ten years in Lee Center, Illinois, he removed to Chicago, where he soon acquired a good reputation as a general practitioner, and came to be regarded as a business man of much more than ordinary capacity. He was associated for a time in the conduct of the Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal with Prof. Daniel Brainard, and later with Prof. DeLaskie Miller. He was ever a close friend of Dr. Brainard and was appointed by him as the executor of his estate. In 1859 he was elected professor of materia medica and therapeutics in Rush Medical College, to succeed Dr. John H. Rauch, who had resigned. He accepted the

position and entered upon the discharge of its duties with the same industry and fidelity that had characterized him in all other relations of life. He was not a brilliant lecturer, but a superior teacher whose instruction was characterized by clearness of expression and sound practical application, and he added much strength to the faculty. He continued to discharge the duties of his professorship for eleven years, during much of which time he was also treasurer of the college and an active worker in the construction of a new building. During all of these years he missed only one lecture, and that was at the time of Dr. Brainard's death. In 1871 he resigned the chair of materia medica and therapeutics in the college and was elected emeritus professor.

Soon after his resignation the Chicago fire swept away the improvements on the greater part of his real estate and it required the labor of years to repair his losses. Through it all, however, he retained his original interest in the welfare of the medical profession and of Rush Medical College as his alma mater, for he had no sooner recovered from the effects of the great fire, and secured for himself a fair income, than he began to devise ways and means for advancing the interests of both. His first suggestion was for the securing of a lot and suitable buildings for a permanent medical library for the benefit of the profession at large. Finding himself forestalled in this by the offer of the trustees of the Newberry Library to provide a permanent medical library department in that institution, he cordially gave his personal influence in that direction, and turned his attention more actively to the work of elevating the standard of medical education. He was a strong advocate of a higher requirement of general education for students before commencing the study of medicine, and for an increased term of graded medical college instruction before graduation. He did not limit his influence in this direction solely to the advancement of Rush Medical College, but gave substantial encouragement to the medical department of the Northwestern University by a donation of $10,000 toward the erection of the present excellent laboratory building of that institution. He was greatly interested in having Rush Medical College become the medical department of the University of Chicago, and gave $25,000 to the college at the time it became affiliated with that institution, with the foresight to see that this step would be a great factor in the advancement of medical education throughout the country.

Of him Dr. Nicholas Senn has written: "Dr. Ephraim Ingals was the type of a family physician. He was a leader in his profession, loved by his students and universally respected by his colleagues. Although not an author, he added to the advancement of medicine by his teachings and practice."

In 1851 Dr. Ingals was married to Melissa R. Church, daughter of Thomas and Rachel Church of Chicago. Dr. Ingals gave up all practice in 1893, but retained his interest in medical affairs until the close of life. He died of senile heart and angina pectoris, December 18, 1900, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His wife died Nov. 20th, 1888. Four daughters survived him, Mary E. Ingals, Mrs. E. Dletcher Ingals, Mrs. Homer M. Thomas and Elizabeth T. Ingals.

Henry Stirling Hurd, M. D.

Henry Stirling Hurd, M. D., late of Galesburg, Illinois, was born in Roxbury, Connecticut, November 27, 1815, of English ancestry. He received his preliminary education in Connecticut, but when a young man his father's family removed to western New York, and he then took up the study of medicine, graduating from the Geneva Medical College. He was one of three brothers to study medicine, and among his family connections there were many who were or had been, members of that profession. After graduation he emigrated to Michigan, and in 1847 entered upon practice in Union City, Michigan, but later attracted by the brighter prospects of Illinois, removed to Galesburg in 1854. In those days the railroad had been completed only a portion of the way from Chicago, and the remainder of the journey had to be made by wagon; the fame of Knox College, and the little community which had founded it, was then, however, attracting much attention, not only because of the richness of the country, but because of the educational facilities which the college and academy offered. He soon became one of the leading practitioners and foremost citizens of Knox county, and practiced his profession there for nearly forty-five years. He was prominent in his profession and interested in all that pertained to its welfare. He also was warmly interested in the affairs of Knox College. In the business and commercial prosperity of Galesburg, he took a prominent part, and was director of one of the banks for a great many years. He was also for many years one of the trustees of the First Congregational church, and in public affairs was always on the side of good citizenship. In private life he was beloved by all for his kindness, uprightness, integrity, and clear-headed sagacity. He married in 1848, Eleanor Hammond Hurd, the widow of his oldest brother, and was a loving husband and devoted father to three children of the former union, and to two of his own sons. Of the two families but two sons survive—Dr. Henry M. Hurd, now superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Md., and Dr. Arthur W. Hurd, superintendent of the Buffalo State Hospital, Buffalo, N. Y. Dr. Hurd retired from active practice a few years before his death, although he still occasionally answered calls of his old patients when eighty years of age. He died August 11th, 1900, in Baltimore, Md., in his 85th year, and was buried in Galesburg, Ill.

William Bradshaw Egan, M. D.

Dr. Egan was a native of Ireland, born Sept. 28, 1808. He commenced his medical studies at the early age of fifteen, first at Lanchestershire, England, and graduated at the medical school in Dublin. He soon after migrated to America, and became a school teacher in Quebec, then in Montreal, later in New York city, and finally in the University of Virginia. Continuing his medical studies he was licensed to practice medicine by the New Jersey State Medical Society. He first settled in Newark, in that state in 1830. In 1832 he was married to Miss Emiline Mabbatt and in 1833 he and his wife came to reside

in Chicago, which was their home during life. His native talent and his unusual culture were soon appreciated by the early citizens and only a year after his arrival he was appointed to represent the south division of the city as a member of the Health Committee, and at once became one of the most prominent among the early settlers. He entered actively upon the work of developing the then young but aspiring village. He was especially effective as a platform speaker, and as a presiding officer in public assemblies his equal was rarely found. His ambition for the welfare of the city and for the State led him gradually to withdraw from medical practice to the handling of real estate in which sphere he became a bold and successful operator. At the celebrated meeting inaugurating the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal, by common consent, Dr. Egan was selected to pronounce the public oration which was a masterly success.

He was elected City Recorder of Chicago in 1844, and in 1853-4 was elected a member of the Illinois State Legislature where he rendered conspicuous service both for the city and the State. In the organization of the Republican party he bore a conspicuous part and was often selected as a presiding officer in the mass conventions which were characteristic of that period. He lived universally respected in his lovely residence in the west division of the city, where he died in Oct. 1860, at the age of 52 years, surrounded by his loving family.

Lucius Clark, M. D.

Dr. Lucius Clark was born at Amherst, Mass., June 10, 1813, and died in Rockford, Ill., in Nov. 1878. He was the third in the family of six sons, four of whom became physicians. He came to Rockford in 1845, and unlike many who came to the west continued to live and work where he first planted himself. This constancy and adhesion to his place and profession for thirty years amidst surrounding changes was a marked characteristic of the man and one great reason of his success. He was a diligent student of medicine, abreast of the times in current medical literature and conversant with the best writing of the best medical writers. He brought to the practice of his profession a devotion entirely unselfish, skillful in diagnosis and remarkably successful in medical practice. The religious character of Dr. Clark was in harmony with his natural disposition and character. He showed his faith by his work and a sweet and gentle savor of his life by deeds rather than by words.

He was a trustee of the Rockford Female Seminary now Rockford College, from its beginning, and a firm friend of all the higher interests and institutions of the city. The professional services he rendered to the poor were as assiduous and faithful as for those most remunerative. He will always be remembered in Rockford as the beloved physician. Dr. Clark left two sons, both of whom are physicians of more than ordinary ability, Dexter Selwyn, born in Chili, Monroe Co., N. Y., Jan. 10, 1839, and died Feb. 12, 1898; Lucius Armour, a second son, born in Rockford, 1849, and died in 1900. Dr. D. Selwyn Clark after

completing his college course entered Columbia University, but left at the opening of the war as assistant surgeon of the 25th Illinois volunteers. He was afterwards made surgeon of the same regiment, was captured at Chickamauga and sent to Libby prison. Returning to his home he rested from his labor until stricken with disease and died honored and beloved by the entire community in which he had lived and labored.

James V. Z. Blaney, M. D.

Dr. Blaney was a native of New Castle, Del., born May 1, 1820 and died in Chicago Dec. 11, 1874. He graduated at Princeton College, New Jersey, when only 18 years of age, and when he was 21 years old he graduated at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, and was for a time the assistant in the laboratory of Prof. Henry. In looking for a professional field he spent the winter of 1842-3 in St. Louis, Mo., and did service in the Jefferson Barracks.

He came to Chicago in 1843 and was appointed professor of chemistry and materia medica in Rush Medical College, which was then being organized, and soon became one of the most popular lecturers in the faculty, and such were his professional attainments and rare social qualities that he probably enjoyed the most lucrative practice of any physician in the city. He edited the first medical journal published in what was then known as the northwest, under the name of The Illinois and Indiana Medical Journal. He was one of the founders of the Chicago Medical Society. In 1850 he, in company with Dr. Wm. B. Herrick, attended the medical convention at Springfield, which resulted in the organization of the Illinois State Medical Society, of which in 1870 he was elected president.

1861 he entered the medical department of the volunteer army and served throughout the civil war. During this period, for two years, he was medical director and instructor at Fort Monroe. In 1864 he was appointed medical purveyor and stationed in Chicago. In this capacity his disbursements were over $600,000. He received emphatic approval when his accounts were audited and he retired from the army with the rank of lieutenant colonel. After his retirement from the army he again resumed his position in Rush Medical College. During his public service his health had been to such a degree impaired that he was compelled to resign his position, and he died in Chicago in 1874, at the early age of 56 years.

Francis B. Haller, M. D.

Dr. Francis B. Haller was born Oct. 13, 1826, in Lewistown, Mifflin Co., Pa. His parents, Samuel and Mary Haller were both natives of the same state. When he was about ten years of age his parents removed to Montgomery Co., Ill., and there he received his preparatory and academic training at the Hillsboro Academy, afterwards at Lewistown Academy, Pa. He was of a studious nature, though of an active and nervous temperament and possessed a mind sufficiently well

balanced to prevent his running into excesses of any kind, that is not improving his mind at the expense of his physical well being, or vici versa.

It was his father's wish that he should study medicine and in deference to that wish he did so. The selection of this profession reflects great credit upon the judgment of the elder Haller and also upon his thorough knowledge of his son's capability. It is creditable to Dr. Haller, knowing the field in which his life work was to be performed, that he assiduously devoted himself not only to the mere acquiring of a thorough knowledge of that science, which with the exception of Theology is the noblest that engages the attention of man, but he made it of practical utility. He studied one year with Dr. A. S. Haskell, then of Hillsboro, and subsequently of Alton, one of the most successful practitioners of western Illinois and a thoroughly refined and cultivated gentleman. He afterwards attended lectures at Rush Medical College, Chicago, in 1848-49 and 1849-50 under the instruction of Prof. Wm. B. Herrick. The following winter of 1850-51 he attended lectures at Missouri University medical department, where he graduated in March, 1851. He immediately began the practice of his profession in Vandalia, where he continued to reside to the day of his death.

Dr. Haller married on May 22, 1856, Lucinda R., daughter of Martin F. and Mary A. Higgins. The family of Dr. Haller consisted of three daughters, Mary, Maud and Minnie, the latter died in infancy. The other two and his wife survive him. In the winter of 1864-65 Dr. Haller accompanied by his family paid a visit to Philadelphia where he availed himself of the opportunity and took a full course of study in Jefferson Medical College, graduating from that institution in the spring of 1865. He was a member of the County, District and State Medical Societies, and in 1866 was president of the latter; he was also a member of the American Medical Association. In religious faith Dr. Haller was a Methodist of which denomination he was considered a consistent and active member. In politics he was originally a Whig but immediately upon the organization of the Republican party he transferred his allegiance to it and was ever after an ardent supporter of its policy. He was at various times medical examiner and pension surgeon of the State and United States and held many positions of honor and trust, discharging every duty with fidelity.

Dr. Haller was very active, energetic and untiring in his profession, to which he was most devoted. He was an enthusiastic member of the Masonic Fraternity and for many years in succession "Master" of his own Masonic lodge. He was also for several years a member of the State Board of Charities.

Dr. Francis Bowd Haller was stricken with paralysis on Aug. 30, 1895, and died on the 14th day of September following, at his home in Vandalia, Ill., aged 69 years.

Edgar Pumphrey Cook, M. D.

Edgar Pumphrey Cook, eldest son of Dr. Wm. J. Cook and Drusula Pumphrey Cook, was born in Wellsburg, W. Va., May 2, 1823, and died in Mendota, Ill., Oct. 31, 1902.

In 1836 his parents removed to Ohio, residing in Middletown, Guernsey Co., for a time, then in Freeport, Jefferson Co. and finally in East Springfield, Jefferson Co. His mother who herself was a daughter of a slave holder in old Virginia, early acquired an abhorrence of slavery and that the family removed to Ohio, was largely due to her desire that her children should grow to manhood in a free state.

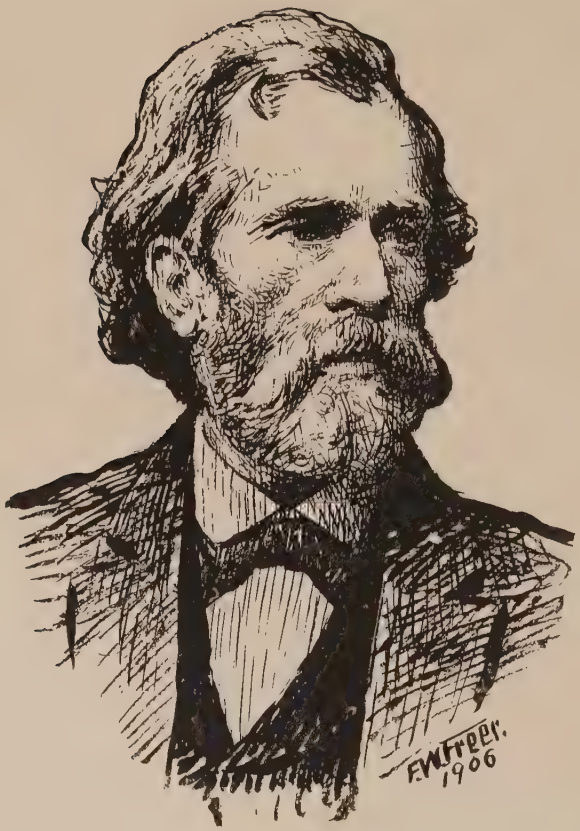
His father was a graduate in medicine of the University of Maryland, in the class of 1826, and his earliest associations were with the profession which he afterwards chose for his life work. His early education was obtained in the common schools of Ohio supplemented by two years attendance at Jefferson Academy, located at Jefferson, O. At the age of eighteen he entered the Cleveland Medical College, now the Medical Department of the Western Reserve University. In the interval between the annual courses of lectures he taught school. He graduated as doctor of medicine in the spring of 1854, being the youngest member of his class and himself a few weeks under twenty-one years of age. As a medical student he became convinced that the existing course of study was too short by at least two years to properly equip one for the practice of medicine, and as early as 1854 he placed five years as the proper minimum of time. He always stood for the best possible education of the man or woman who choose medicine as a vocation.

In December, 1855, he settled in Mendota, Ill., and began the practice of medicine in the place which was to be the scene of his life work.

On Nov. 11, 1856, he was united in marriage with Catharine Morrison, of East Springfield, O. There were born to them eleven children, Virginia, Charles, E., James, John George Albert, William Frederick, Edgar P., Wells Morrison, Catherine and two sons who died in infancy. His wife, Catherine, died in 1902, preceding him in death four months.

During the civil war he responded to the call of Governor Yates, took the examination at Springfield and was appointed as a surgeon in the State of Illinois. After the battle of Shiloh he was ordered to the field near Corinth, Miss., and was in charge of a regiment of Illinois volunteers.

From the first of his medical career, Dr. Cook identified himself with the general interests of his profession. He early joined the Illinois State Medical Society and was always active in its affairs. In 1879 he was elected its president. At the time of his death he was chairman of the judical committee of the State Society. He was one of the early presidents of the La Salle County Medical Society, twice president of the North Central Illinois Medical Association and a member of the American Medical Association, Association of Railway Surgeons, the American Public Health Association and other medical societies. He was an honorary member of the Physicians' Club of Chi-



DR. JOSEPH WARREN FREER.

cago, a delegate to the Ninth International Medical convention in Washington in 1877, and in 1890 to the Tenth International Medical convention in Berlin, Germany. He was an enthusiast in his profession to the day of his death and was constant in his endeavor to keep abreast with the advances in medical science. His attention was particularly attracted to the surgical aspect of medical practice. He was for many years the local surgeon of the Illinois Central & Burlington Railroads. His acquaintance in his profession was unusually wide and he took great delight in the profession of the friendships he had made in his nearly half century of active medical practice. As a citizen of Mendota he was ever active in whatever concerned its best interest, in matters pertaining to education and sanitary condition he was especially interested.

For many years he served as member of the city council and to his effort is largely due the adoption and construction of the present sewerage system of Mendota. He was a school trustee at the time of his death, and for several years he had been a director and vice-president of the Mendota National Bank.

He was a member of the Mendota lodge of A. F. & A, Masons of the Mendota chapters and of Bethany Commandery of the Knights Templars.

Dr. Cook joined the Methodist Episcopal church in early life and was one of the original trustees of the Mendota church, a position which he continued to hold without intermission until the day of his death. In March, 1900, while returning at night from a consultation visit in a neighboring town, Dr. Cook was stricken on the train with an attack of angina pectoris. He was forced to abandon at once the active duties of his profession. His health gradually improved and although he was never again able to resume his work as a physician, the last two years of his life were devoted to many interests less arduous in their demands, but equally important in his view. His death was due to a sudden attack of angina pectoris and although not entirely unexpected by those familiar with his condition, it came as a severe shock to the community and all who knew him.

Dr. Joseph Warren Freer.

Joseph Warren Freer, M. D., president and professor of physiology and microscopic anatomy in Rush Medical College, was born at Fort Ann, Washington county, N. Y., on the 10th day of July, 1816.

His father, Elias Freer, was of French Huguenot and Holland descent, the ancestry being among the early Dutch settlers on the Hudson. His mother was of the Paine family—early settlers of New England. His educational advantages were those of the common school, until fifteen years of age, after which he attended for two years what was termed a high school. At eighteen he entered the office of Dr. Lemuel C. Paine, then of Clyde, N. Y., as a pupil of medicine.

In his nineteenth year, June 14, 1836, he came to Chicago and invested in a "mud claim" on the Calumet river, about four miles from

any neighbors, except Pottawatomie Indians. He remained there about two months, and, in the meantime, nearly died of filth, bad food, and ultimate sickness. In the fall of the same year, his parents having immigrated west, he concluded to follow their fortunes. They settled on "claim land," at a place called Forked Creek, near Wilmington, Ill. There he remained until July 4, 1846. During this time he formed several valuable acquaintances, particularly Hon. Richard L. Wilson, formerly editor of the *Chicago Evening Journal,* and Dr. Hiram Todd, to the latter of whom he was ever grateful for valuable advice, and the use of his excellent literary and scientific library. In later years he often spoke of Dr. Todd in affectionate terms, characterizing him as "a gentleman of the old school, of liberal education and culture."

Aside from incidental advantages of this sort, he had little opportunity to educate himself, for with the earlier settlers the material man demanded more than the moral or mental. Nevertheless, he did burn some midnight oil over a little Dublin Dissector, an ancient work on chemistry, and sundry literary works, borrowed from his cherished friend, Dr. Todd. While sojourning in this region, he opened, and brought under cultivation, three farms, on one of which he made his home after his first marriage.

In March, 1844, he married Emeline, daughter of Phineas Holden, Esq., of Hickory Creek, Will county. One child, Henry C., was the fruit of this union. He is now living, and won honor as a soldier in the late war. Mrs. Freer died in the autumn of 1845—a little less than two years from their marriage.

This bereavement changed the whole course of his subsequent life. It happened that he was dissatisfied with the medical treatment of her last sickness, and expressed a determination to know whether there was any truth in, and reliance to be placed upon, medicine. In furtherance of this purpose, mounting a load of wheat, that he might not lose any time, he drove to the then *village* of Chicago, to solicit Prof. Daniel Brainard to receive him into his office.

Dr. Brainard gave him a hearty welcome, and he continued with him as a student until his graduation at Rush Medical College at the close of the session, 1848-9.

As sagacious an observer as Dr. Brainard could not, and did not, fail to mark in this new student an ability and determination, combined with a zeal and untiring industry, which were sure to result most honorably. From first to last he was invited to assist in all of Prof. Brainard's important operations, and during the last years of his pupilage was frequently sent by Dr. Brainard to perform such as he himself could not attend. The warm friendship and confidence thus commenced, ceased only with the life of that great surgeon and teacher.

The last winter of his pupilage, Dr. Freer was appointed acting demonstrator of anatomy by Prof. Wm. B. Herrick, then professor of that department. After graduation he contracted a co-partnership with Dr. John A. Kennicott, of Wheeling, Cook county.

In June, 1849, he married Miss Catherine Gatter, of Wurtemberg, Germany. A daughter and three sons were the fruit of this marriage, all of whom are now living.

In the spring of 1850 he received by *concours* the regular appointment of demonstrator of anatomy in Rush Medical College, a high honor, as the place was very ably contested for.

In the summer of 1855, he was appointed professor of descriptive anatomy.

Whilst Prof. Brainard occupied the position of surgeon of the U. S. marine hospital, Prof. Freer was his constant and invaluable deputy.

On the reorganization of Rush Medical College in 1859, Prof. Greer was transferred to the chair of physiology and microscopic anatomy, a position he occupied up to the time of his decease.

Prof. Blaney retiring from the college in 1872, Prof. Freer was elected to the presidency.

Aside from his connection with the college, he has filled many important positions. He was formerly, for several years, one of the medical staff of Mercy Hospital, and since the reopening of Cook county hospital, soon after the close of the war, was appointed one of the medical board, which position was only vacated by his death. He was also consulting surgeon of St. Joseph's Hospital, of the Hospital for Women of the State of Illinois, and many other public charities.

Prof. Freer was appointed brigade surgeon very soon after the breaking out of the war, but after having served some three or four months, was obliged to resign in consequence of ill health.

In 1864, he was appointed U. S. enrolling surgeon for the Chicago district.

1867, Prof. Freer sent his family to Europe, following them a few months after. They remained until 1871, and he, returning each year to give his course of lectures in the college, spent the remaining months in Europe. He attended the Medical Congress in Paris during the exposition of 1867, and afterwards spent a considerable period in visiting their hospitals and medical schools.

So also he visited the most celebrated schools of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1868, and he had reason to be pleased at the consideration and courtesy extended to him by many of their most eminent professional men.

In 1870 he spent four months in Vienna, familiarizing himself with its great hospitals. He returned home in September, bringing his family with him.

On his several visits to Europe he had secured many articles of rare scientific and professional interest. These and other souvenirs, and the tenement buildings which had afforded him means to indulge his tastes for study and travel; these he had earned by industry and economy, and he had looked forward to them as a means of affording ease and comfort in his declining years all were in that terrible night of October, a few short weeks only after his return, swept away in the general conflagration—himself and family barely escaping with their lives.

Younger men than Dr. Freer might have given up in despair, but he, in nowise disheartened, returned with energy to his practice, to the college and the hospitals.

Although circumstances conspired to place Dr. Freer as a teacher in the elementary department of physiology, he was distinguished, not only popularly but professionally, both as a physician and surgeon.

The first eight or ten years of his professional life his practice was devoted largely to surgery. He performed nearly all the operations of note from that of cataract by extraction to excision of knee joint and elbow joint with entire ulna and head of radius, before Carnochan's case.

Perhaps he did not originate much in surgery, but he suggested and practiced several things of value. He is entitled to priority in suggestion of the use of collodion in erysipelas, burns, etc. So, also, the first publication of the use of adhesive plaster in fractures of the clavicle is due to him.

However, it may be claimed for him that he was decidedly original in his application of the general principles of both branches of the profession. He always seemed to feel degraded when either operating or prescribing merely by rule.

From the time of his entrance upon the profession, to use his own language, he "worshipped nature as fervently as ever the Incas did the sun, and for this reason was never guilty of knowingly putting brakes on her wheels."

The highest eulogium that can be pronounced upon him is furnished by the record of his life. That shows that whatever he undertook to do, he sought to do in the best possible way. There was not a scintilla of sham or pretence in his nature, and he was a vigorous hater of both. What he could not tolerate in himself, that he could not overlook in others. Hence he was little loved by "irregulars," either outside or inside of the scientific pale, and was very frequently a target for their attacks. Commencing medical study when his life was a little more than half gone past, he commanded all his faculties by an indomitable will, to their uttermost of service. He was never idle, and in the height of active practice was never heard to say he had no time to read and investigate.

Late in life he added largely to his juvenile knowledge of the French language, and became proficient in German.

What he knew, he knew thoroughly. His exact anatomical knowledge made his a safe operator, whilst his sound judgment made him a successful physician.

No "authority" but nature would content him. A zealous student in this department, he did not shrink from the conclusions to which physiological research led. His practice as a physician was thoroughly pervaded with it. Coming somewhat slowly to a diagnosis, and perhaps more slowly still to the therapeutics, every one who has met him in the clinics or in consultation will remember with highest respect the solidity of the reasons he was able and willing to give for the opinion and the action. As a medical teacher, the same qualities of mind were manifest. Not fluent of speech, yet his language was always accurate and well chosen. Not devoid of a certain dry

humor, he rarely indulged, while lecturing, in anything beyond a clear and correct statement of matters of fact. New students, and superficial older ones, did not fully recognize his worth, but those more advanced, and who came to college solely to acquire knowledge, yielded him close attention, and learned to honor and venerate him as one who was master of the subject, was anxious to impart real instruction, and, speaking, spoke as one having authority.

As an experimenter, Prof. Freer was eminently "at home." He was remarkably successful. Here his knowledge of both human and comparative anatomy shone forth. The diversities of organization which too many vivisectors greatly disregard always received due consideration, and, as usual with him, he came to no generalizations with undue haste. His untimely demise has prevented publication to the world of many discoveries of great value, that now are only to be gathered up from the notebooks and memories of his pupils and intimates.

As a citizen he was patriotic and public spirited. His private life was ever stainless, and in all his relations, whether with individuals or the public, he was irreproachable. By his colleagues in the faculty, and by his friends he was earnestly beloved, and he reciprocated their attachment with all the warmth of his kindly heart.

Dr. Freer died on the 12th of April, 1877, after an illness of two months.

William Heath Byford, A. M., M. D.

William Heath Byford was born March 20, 1817, in the village of Eaton, Ohio, and was the son of Henry T. and Hannah Byford. The family is of English extraction and has been traced back to Suffolk. His father, a mechanic of limited means, to better his condition removed to the falls of the Ohio river, now New Albany, from whence in 1821 he changed his residence to Hindostan, Martin county, Indiana. Here his father died suddenly, leaving a widow and three children. William the eldest, in his ninth year was compelled to give up his studies, which he had pursued with signal success for three or four years in the neighboring country school, in order to help his mother in the support of the family. For the next four years he worked at whatever he could find to do. At the end of that time his mother moved to Crawford county, Illinois, and joined her father. After working for two years on his grandfather's farm, the condition of the family being somewhat improved; it was decided that the boy's wish to learn a trade should be gratified. Accordingly he set out on foot for the village of Palestine, several miles distant, and on reaching it presented himself at all of the blacksmith shops in town. But the blacksmiths declined to have anything to do with him, and he tried the tailors. He had no particular fancy for this occupation, but he had come to town to make all necessary arrangements for learning a trade, and he was determined not to return home before the accomplishment of that purpose. He finally persuaded a kind hearted Christian gentleman by the name of Davis to receive him, and was soon installed

as an apprentice, and held the position for two years, when Mr. Davis removed to Kentucky. During the ensuing four years he finished learning his trade in the employ of a tailor at Vincennes, Indiana. The boy was now twenty years old. While serving his apprenticeship he devoted all his spare time to study, and day after day he had, while working on a garment, concealed some old text book bought or borrowed, which contributed to his stock of knowledge. In this way he mastered the structure of his native tongue, acquired some knowledge of the Latin, Greek and French languages, and studied with especial care physiology, chemistry and natural history. About eighteen months before the expiration of his term of apprenticeship he determined to devote his life to the study of medicine, and subsequently placed himself under the professional guidance of Dr. Joseph Maddox, of Vincennes, Indiana. Soon after the expiration of his term of apprenticeship he was examined according to a custom then prevailing in Indiana, by three commissioners appointed for the purpose, who certified that they were satisfied with his acquirements and authorized him to engage in the practice of medicine. At once he began the practice of his profession in Owensville, Gibson county, Indiana, August 8, 1838. In 1840 he removed to Mount Vernon, Indiana, where he associated himself with Dr. Hezekiah Holland, whose daughter he afterwards married. He remained in Mount Vernon until 1850. During this period he attended lectures at the Ohio Medical College in Cincinnati, and in 1845 he applied for and received a regular graduation and an accredited diploma from the same institution.

In 1847 he performed two Cæsarean sections and wrote an excellent account of the operation. One of these cases survived the operation for some days, but ultimately perished from peritonitis, presumably due to an error in diet. "This was followed by contributions to the medical journals which attracted the attention of the medical community, and gave their author a respectable reputation for literary acquirements, intellectual penetration, and scientific knowledge."

In October, 1850, he was elected to the chair of anatomy in Evansville Medical College, Indiana, and two years later he was transferred to the chair of theory and practice, which he held until the extinction of the college in 1854. During his professorship in Evansville he was one of the editors of a medical journal of merit. In may, 1857. he was elected vice president of the American Medical Association, then assembled at Nashville, Tenn., and in the following autumn he was called to the chair of obstetrics and diseases of women and children in the Rush Medical College at Chicago, vacated by Dr. John Evans, the talented physician and United States Senator from Colorado. This position he held for two years. when, together with several associates, he aided in the organization of the Chicago Medical College. In this institution he occupied the chair of obstetrics and diseases of women and children until 1879, when he was again called to Rush Medical College to fill the chair of gynecology, specially created for his occupancy. In 1870, he became one of the founders of the Women's Medical College of Chicago. He was made president of the faculty

and also of the board of trustees, and both of these positions he held up to the day of his death. He was prominently identified with the organization of the American Gynecological Society, being elected one of the first vice presidents, and president in 1881.

Dr. Byford was married October 3, 1840, to Mary Anne Holland, daughter of Hezekiah Holland, by whom he had five children, Mrs. W. W. Leonard, Mrs. D. J. Schuyler, Dr. William H. Byford, Jr., Dr. Henry T. Byford and Mrs. C. P. Van Schaack. Mrs. Byford died in 1864. In 1873 he married Miss Lina W. Flersheim, of Buffalo, N. Y., who survives him. The only child of the second union died at birth.

Dr. Byford won merited fame as a prolific writer and as an authority in gynecology. Beginning with his paper on Cæsarean section, published in 1847, he has contributed much of permanent value to every phase of the subject. In 1864 he published his first book, entitled "Chronic Inflammation and Displacements of the Unimpregnated Uterus," which is also the first medical work attributable to a Chicago author; second edition, 1871. In 1866 appeared his "Practice of Medicine and Surgery applied to the Diseases of Women," which was extensively used as a text book, and which passed through its fourth edition in 1888. "The Philosophy of Domestic Life" was published in 1869, followed in 1872 by his text book on "Obstetrics," which passed through a second edition the following year. During a term of years he was associated with Dr. N. S. Davis, Sr., in the editorial management of the Chicago Medical Journal. Later he became editor-in-chief of the Chicago Medical Journal and Examiner, the successor of the two journals known as the Chicago Medical Journal and the Chicago Medical Examiner, and published under the auspices of the Chicago Medical Press Association. There are many measures in practice with which his name is intimately connected; for example, the use of ergot in fibroid tumors of the uterus; drainage per rectum of pelvic abscesses that have previously discharged into that viscus; abdominal section for ruptured extra-uterine pregnancy; the systematic use of the slippery elm tent.

As a teacher, in the lecture room, at the bedside, or in debate Dr. Byford's utterances were always characterized by simplicity, clearness, and pertinency. No wonder then, that his clinic was always overcrowded with students and practitioners, and that his slightest word invariably received a degree of attention all the more flattering because involuntary.

But perhaps it was as a practitioner that he achieved the greatest measure of success. Wisdom and enormous experience created his vantage ground as a consultant. It will be remembered that for more than twenty-five years he was a general practitioner before he devoted himself exclusively to gynecology. Even then the circle of his specialty included other organs than the womb. Like Trousseau he was very exact in keeping his appointments. Throughout his career he was a rigid adherent to the code of ethics because he believed its precepts to be both reasonable and right.

It has long been customary to regard compensation in money as one criterion of success in the practice of medicine. Dr. Byford's professional income during the last twenty years of his life varied from $25,000 to $30,000 per annum, and he bequeathed to his family along with the heritage of a spotless name, a handsome fortune, well invested.

He was not an extremist; he rode no hobbies. None the less his life had clearly defined and fondly cherished purposes. They were all nobly sustained. One of these was the advocacy of the medical education of women. In this cause he was the pioneer in the west. To it he gave freely of his time, of his influence, and of his wealth. Another was the establishment in Chicago of the Woman's Hospital. Today this institution flourishes, a monument to his persistent effort. While he lived one-third of its beds were free.

He loved young men. Counsel, encouragement, recommendation, money, all were freely given, as if he were the debtor. Back of all his skill of hand and wisdom of professional judgment there was a wonderfully large and generous heart.

He died May 21, 1890, at the age of seventy-three years. For the last three years he showed symptoms of heart disease, that culminated in a fatal attack of angina pectoris.

He continued in active practice and in full possession of all his faculties to the end. On the Saturday preceding his death he performed abdominal section for the removal of the appendages on account of fibroid tumor of the uterus, and on Tuesday, the day of his fatal illness, he attended to his usual professional duties. Among the people of the city of Chicago, of the State of Illinois, and, indeed of the whole northwest, the name of Byford was a houseohld word for more than a quarter of a century. By the members of his profession he was universally beloved for personal qualities as he was esteemed for professional pre-eminence.

W. W. J.

[Taken from the transactions of the American Gynecological Association.]

Ralph N. Isham, M. D.

Ralph N. Isham was born in the town of Manheim, Herkimer county, New York, March 16, 1831. After acquiring a good academic education at the Herkimer Academy, at Little Falls, N. Y., he entered upon the study of medicine and received the degree of M. D. from the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, in New York city, in 1854. He then served a full term as house physician and surgeon in Bellevue hospital, at the completion of which he selected Chicago as his permanent field of practice, coming here in November, 1855.

In 1859 he joined with others in the organization of the medical department of Lind University, later the Chicago Medical College, and now known as the Northwestern University Medical School, and accepted the chair of surgical anatomy and operative surgery. In the discharge of his duties he acquired a high reputation as a teacher and as a successful surgical operator.

During the Civil War, 1861-1865, he served as a member of the Sanitary Commission, and was one of its organizers. He twice went

south with supplies and doctors and was in the field at the battle of Shiloh. During the war he had charge of the United States Marine Hospital at Chicago, which then was a military hospital and he was in close touch with the administration at Washington. He continued in charge of the Marine Hospital for several years after the war. At that time it was located near Rush street bridge.

At various times he has served as professor of surgery in the Northwestern University, the duties of which he discharged with ability and success for fifteen years, surgeon to the Jewish Hospital, afterwards the Michael Reese Hospital, member of the board of trustees of the North Star Dispensary, chief surgeon for the Chicago & Northwestern success for fifteen years, surgeon to the Jewish Hospital afterwards to the Presbyterian Hospital, consulting surgeon to the Passavant Hospital, delegate to the International Medical Congress in London in 1881, surgeon of various regiments, etc., etc.

He was an extensive traveler, both in Europe, America and the Orient. He was one of the original guarantors of the Chicago orchestra, also at one time a trustees of the Central church. He was a member of various clubs, societies and organizations, and a member of nearly all of the medical societies, being honorary member of the New York Medical Society. He had degrees from the University of the City of New York, and M. A. from the Northwestern University.

He married, in 1856, Katherine Snow, daughter of George W. Snow, one of the early settlers of Chicago. He is survived by his wife and four children, George S. Isham, Ralph Isham, Katherine (Mrs. A. L. Farwell) and Harriet (Mrs. G. A. Carpenter).

Henry Wing, M. D.

Dr. Henry Wing was born April 6, 1832, at Troy, Missouri, and died February 18, 1871, at Collinsville, Illinois. His parents went from Woodstock, Vermont to Missouri. His father was prominent in business and social circles and his mother was a woman of unusual force of character, energy and intellectual equipment. Dr. Wing grew up in the atmosphere which such parentage always provides and inspires, and was prepared for college in the schools of his native town. He took the degree of A. B. at Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois, and later was given an A. M. by the same college. For a few years a medical department was maintained at Illinois College and Dr. Wing took his M. D. degree there, and later was director in the medical department. His intellect was keen, his temperament sanguine and poetic and his interest in the current topics of the college discussions always alert and accurate. During his residence at Jacksonville he took a prominent and active part in the intellectual and social life of the college and town and left an impression there which remained active and bright during the lives of his associates of that time.

Among the professors and students of the college were Truman M. Post, Thomas K. Beecher, Julian Sturtevant, Samuel Willard, H. W. Jones, and Richard Yates, afterwards known as the "war governor" all of whom were connected with the college during his residence at Jacksonville.

Dr. Wing removed from Jacksonville to Collinsville, Illinois, and married Miss M. C. Collins of that town in 1849. Five children, William Hertzog, Elbert, Emily, Horace B. and Mary, were born of this union, four of whom are living. Elbert held the chair of nervous and mental diseases at the Chicago Medical College for several years, and another the chair of physical diagnosis and clinical medicine in the medical department of the University of Southern California and is a prominent surgeon of Los Angeles.

Dr. Wing's first wife died of pulmonary tuberculosis in 1864. In 1867 he married Mrs. Anna E. Gray. There were no children by this second marriage.

Dr. Wing's professional life falls naturally into three periods. His residence at Jacksonville, Collinsville and Chicago, Illinois. The residence in Collinsville was in two periods, before and after a residence in Chicago. In Collinsville he was known as the best physician in the town and surrounding towns of the country and had a wide consultation practice. In the social, intellectual and some aspects of the political life of the town, he early took and maintained throughout his life a prominent part. He never sought political office but was repeatedly elected a member of the school board of Collinsville and was for years a member of the board of trustees of the Illinois Normal School.

Dr. Wing's father was a slave holder in Missouri before the war. Slaves were the only domestic servants to be had on any terms at Troy, but neither father nor son believed slavery just, and during his residence at Collinsville Dr. Henry Wing helped more than one runaway slave to secure his freedom.

Governor Yates appointed Dr. Wing a member of the Board of Medical Examiners of Illinois for the appointment of army surgeons in 1861. During his service upon this board he formed a warm friendship for Hosmer A. Johnson, Edmund Andrews, and John H. Hollister and later removed his family to Chicago with Dr. Johnson and Dr. Andrews.

Through these Chicago friends he became identified with the Medical department of Lind University and held a professorship there and later in the Chicago Medical College. By reason of the illness of Mrs. Wing the family returned to Collinsville in 1864, in October of which year her illness terminated fatally. Dr. Wing did not again return to Chicago, his health had never been robust and in the years from 1864 until his death in 1871 there was a gradual decline in vigor and strength. In a vain endeavor to regain his health he spent one summer in the Rocky Mountains serving as botanist in the exploring expedition of Major J. W. Powell. That improved but did not restore his health, and the remaining years of his life were those of that gallant uncomplaining struggle against an almost life-long lack of general vigor rather than of any definite disease.

Early in his college life Dr. Wing attacked the current theological doctrine of the time, but never failed in loyalty to the ethical teachings of Christ, and late in life united with the Presbyterian church at Collinsville. Throughout his professional life his standing was in every way the best, his sympathies as broad as the race and his life blameless.

As an evidence of the regard in which he was held by the community in which he lived, it may be of interest to state that during the funeral services at the time of his burial all business houses in Collinsville were closed, and the expression of sympathy and respect were profound from all classes of people.

Samuel Craig Plummer, M. D.

Dr. Plummer came to Illinois in 1848 and located in Rock Island where he maintained his residence until the day of his death. He was born at Salem Crossroads, Westmoreland Co., Pa., on April 10, 1821. His parents were John Boyd Plummer and Elizabeth Craig Plummer, and on his father's side he was descended from Francis Plummer, who came from England in 1633, and settled in Newburyport, Mass.

He received his preliminary education in the common schools, in the preparatory department of Western Reserve College, Ohio, and in the Greenville Academy, Pa. He then read medicine with a preceptor for three years after which he attended the first course of lectures given in the Cleveland Medical College in 1842. Subsequent to this he practiced medicine in Ohio, and it was not until 1854, after completing a second course of lectures, that he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the Cleveland Medical College.

On October 17, 1844, at Burghill, Ohio, Dr. Plummer married Julia Hayes, who died Oct. 6, 1872. Five children of the union reached the adult life. Mrs. Emma P. Barrow, Clara E. Plummer, Mrs. Elizabeth Loosley, Fred Hayes Plummer and Dr. Craig Plummer, Jr.

In 1850 he crossed the plains in a wagon and after spending a year in California, returned by the way of the Isthmus of Panama.

On April 16, 1861, he enlisted in the army and served for three years as surgeon of the Thirteenth Illinois Volunteer Infantry with the rank of major. At various times during his service he filled the position of medical director of the army of the Eastern District of Arkansas; surgeon-in-chief of the First Division of the Fifteenth army corps and medical director of the Fifteenth Army corps.

After his return from the war he devoted his life to general practice in Rock Island. He showed a preference for surgery and this branch of practice took up much of his attention. He was always active in every movement for the betterment of the profession and was a faithful attendent at the meetings of the local, state and national medical societies. He was local surgeon for the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific R. R. from the time its rails reached Rock Island. When St. Anthony's Hospital was organized he at once became an active member of the staff.

After the Cleveland Medical College from which he graduated became the medical department of the Western Reserve University he was granted the Adeundem degree by the latter institution. On June 9, 1874, Dr. Plummer married Mrs. Sarah More Dawson at New Wilmington, Pa., who survived him.

In religion he was a Presbyterian, in politics a Republican. He was a Royal Arch Mason, but after the war his greatest pleasure was in his

affiliation with various military organizations, the Grany Army of the Republic, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and the Society of the Army of the Tennessee. He never missed a reunion of these bodies or of his regiment if it was possible for him to attend.

Dr. Plummer died at his home at Rock Island on April 30, 1900, in the 80th year of his age, having practiced the profession for 58 years, and having been a resident of Rock Island for more than half a century.

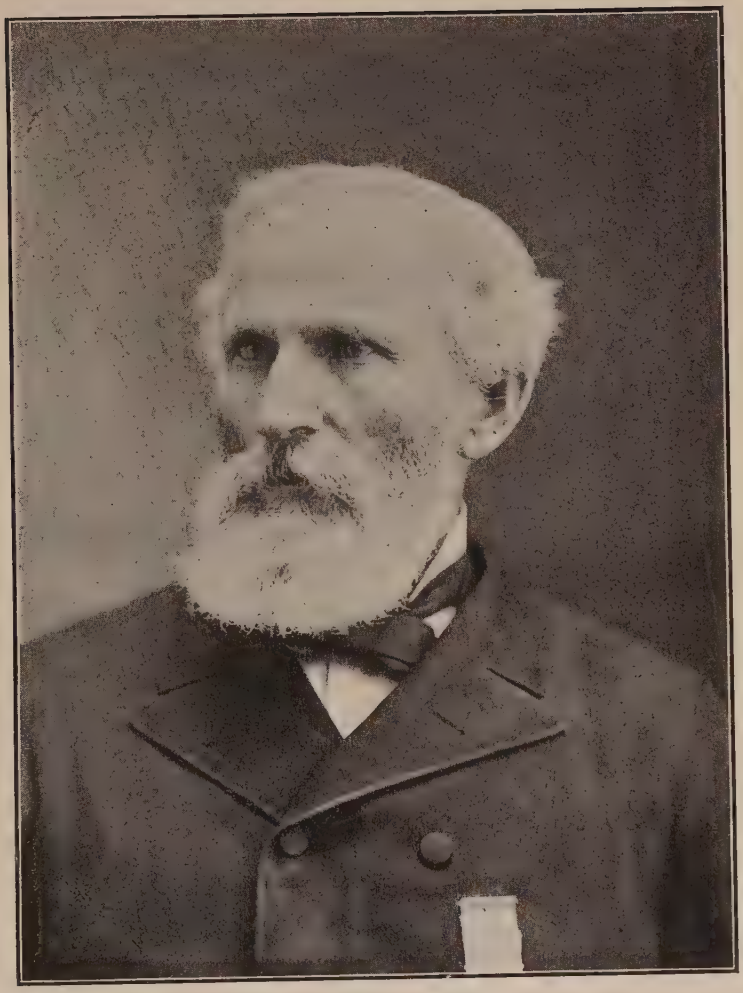
H. A. Johnson, M. D.

Hosmer Allen Johnson was a resident of Chicago and an active and public spirited citizen during the formative period when it was emerging from provincialism to cosmopolitanism. The opportunities and stimulants afforded by these conditions of developmental civil growth found ready response in his active mind and afforded wide scope for the efficient employment of his talents in the many public and institutional projects upon which he entered with spirited zeal and to which he devoted much time apart from his private obligations and the practice of his profession. His varied activities covering the entire busy period of his life made their impressions felt in the policy and efficiency of the organizations with which he was connected. The profession of medicine, of which he was an honored and influential member, was but one of the many fields in which his energetic and progressive mind was impelled to seek service for humanity and the public good, and the quality of his work displayed his strength of character, nobleness of purpose and fertility of resourse.

His paternal grandfather Joshua Johnson lived in Worcester, Mass., where his grandfather Samuel was born about 1750. His maternal grandmother Hephzibah Crossby was also a native of the same place born about the same time. His father Samuel Johnson was born in Manilius, N. Y., in 1797, the mother's maiden name was Sally Allen. Her ancesters for three generations resided near the head of Lake Champlain where she was born in 1773 at Port Ann. The father's name was Parmley and Col. Ethan Allen was a second cousin. Her mother's name was Deborah Burroughs, and on her mother's side of an old Dutch family in New York. The grandfather served through the war of Independence, his grandfather Allen holding a commission as captain. Dr. Hosmer Allen Johnson was born in the town of Wales, Erie Co., N. Y., Oct. 6, 1822. While he was still very young his parents, with the old grandparents, removed to Boston Hill, twenty miles southeast of Buffalo, and when he was twelve years old all removed to Michigan, near Almont, Lapeer Co.

His earlier youth was spent on the frontier where primeval forest lands were being created into farms, and where the red man still lingered in the haunts of the encroaching civilization.

His opportunites for study from this time until he was 21 years old were few. During the nine years from 12 to 21 years of age, his attendance on school in all was only about eight or possibly ten months. He, however, received much help at home from his mother, a woman of



DR. H. A. JOHNSON.

unusual ability, firmness and strength of character and whose mental horizon was much wider and attainments much higher than the opportunities of a humble life usually present. To her encouragement more than to all other agencies or influences, he felt indebted for whatever of success attended his subsequent life. It was under her guidance chiefly that he acquired the elements of a common school education. When 19 years old he taught a district school and this he did for the next four winters.

When about 17 years old he contracted a severe cold, sequal of exhaustion from labor and during the rest of his life he was susceptible to bronchial and pulmonary infections. For some months after this cold he lost in flesh and strength and his physicians believed he had consumption. His chronic cough persisted intermittently throughout his life and until well past three score he lost in every year from two to four months work from sickness.

In the spring of 1844 he commenced preparing for college at Romeo, Mich., under Prof. Rufus Nutting, here he met his life long bosom friend Edmund Andrews. With Andrews he entered the sophomore class at Ann Arbor, in the fall of 1846.

In 1854 his father died leaving him entirely dependent upon his own exertion for support, thus entailing an additional burden upon his student life. His college course was interrupted by ill health and at the close of his junior year he was advised by Profs. Douglas and Sager to go home and abandon the struggle. They both believed he would not live through the year if he attempted to graduate with his class. He did not go home, but borrowed some money and went with his sister by boat to Chicago and from there to St. Louis, where he made an effort to get a position but was not successful. From there they went to Vandalia, formerly the capital of Illinois, where they remained until the next April. His mother had a brother living there and their home was with him. There they taught school, his sister taking charge of the girls' department. In the meantime letters from the classmates Andrews and Donaldson kept them informed of their progress in Ann Arbor. He roomed in the office of Dr. J. B. Herrick, and spent two hours each day reading medicine, five hours in teaching and devoting sufficient time to college study to keep abreast of his classes at Ann Arbor. The remainder of his time he spent in miscellaneous reading, recreation and sleep. He also during the winter dissected a human cadaver and gave a series of lectures upon geology and botany to a little group of young people. His lectures were a part of his college studies and the engagement was a stimulus to work. In April, with health much improved, he went back to Ann Arbor and at the close of the term passed the examination in all the studies pursued by the class excepting Italian. Under the encouragement of Prof. Fasqelle he cleared away this condition in a few weeks. During his college course at Ann Arbor he also attended a course of dissections under Dr. Moses Gunn, subsequently a member of the faculty of Rush Medical College, Chicago. After graduation he went back to the old home. In September he taught in the Union High school at Flint, Mich., remaining there for a year and continuing his medical studies under the

direction of Dr. De Laskie Miller, afterwards for many years a professor in Rush Medical College. In the summer of 1850, during an illness of Dr. Miller's family he first practiced medicine and attended his first obstectrical case. In the fall of 1850 he came to Chicago and attended lectures in Rush Medical College devoting a part of each day to teaching for self-support and he also assisted the professor of anatomy and exhibiting microscopical structures with the solar microscope. In the spring of 1851 Mercy Hospital was opened in Chicago under the care of the Sisters of Mercy and Dr. Johnson became the first interne or resident physician, remaining in the service for one year. In February he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine from Rush Medical College and a few weeks later was appointed resident physician to the United States Marine Hospital just then completed at Chicago. He also during the same spring became assistant editor of the Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal, later known as the Chicago Medical Journal and Examiner. His relations to the Journal as editor and assistant editor continued for five years. His duties in the Marine Hospital did not require all of his time and he opened an office with the late Dr. Wm. B. Herrick, the senior editor of the Medical Journal and prossessor of Anatomy and Physiology at Rush Medical College.

At the annual commencement exercises at the university at Ann Arbor he received the degree of A. M. from his Alma Mater. His thesis presented to the faculty in the winter of 1851 was as required by the rules of the university at that time in Latin and had for its title "Clamae Variatione in Eadem Latitudiana Causæ." He further received the degree of LL. D. from the University of Chicago. In the fall of 1853 he was appointed lecturer of Physiology in Rush Medical College and in 1855 Professor of Materia Medica and Physics and Medical Jurisprudence. In 1857 he was transferred to the chair of Physiology and General Pathlogy.

In 1859 a second medical school was established under the auspices of Lind University now Lake Forest University by Drs. H. A. Johnson, Edmund Andrews, R. N. Isham and David Rutter. They were joined also by Drs. N. S. Davis and Wm. H. Byford, all with the exception of Dr. Rutter resigned in Rush Medical College faculty to organize a new and better method of teaching, proposed for the new school and for which purpose it was especially established. At different times in the history of the new school Dr. Johnson filled the chair of materia medica of physiology and histology, of pathological anatomy, of diseases of the respiratory and circulatory apparatus, of clinical medicine and lastly that of the principals and practices of medicine and clinical medicine. During the last ten years of his life he did not take an active part in the work of the school, but retained the relationship of the last mentioned chair during his life. His counsels were strong of maintaining the policy and shaping the advancement of the school. In his earlier years he was president of the faculty and later president of the board of trustees. These two offices he filled successfully from the inception of the school until the time of his death,

Outside of the school he also did much to further medical teaching by energetically advocating and taking steps towards securing the State laws favoring this section.

Dr. Johnson's collateral activities, civic, state and national, were many and varied in the numerous organizations, medical and others in which he served.

In June 1852 he became a member of the Illinois State Medical Society. He was for several years its secretary and in 1858 was elected its president. He became a member of the American Medical Association in 1854, and from 1860 to 1863 was one of its secretaries. He was one of the original members of the Chicago Literary Club and was its third president. He was one of the original members of the Chicago Academy of Sciences and served as the first corresponding secretary. Subsequently after the great fire of 1871, he served as its president and after that until his death, as one of its trustees. He was a charter member of the Illinois State Micropical Society and served repeatedly as its president. His interest in microscopy was exceedingly broad. It received its first impetus in the solar microscropical demonstration above alluded to and later included, not only medical microscopy but extended into other fields. He was for many years a member of the Chicago Astronomical Society and one of its trustees and for several years its president. He was a member of the American Laryngological Association, the Climatological Association, the Academy of Medicine, the American Microscopical Society and a fellow of the Royal Microscopical Society of London, England. He was also a corresponding member of several other scientific societies. In 1867 he was appointed a member of the Board of Health of the City of Chicago and served six years in that capacity. His term included the trying years following the great fire of 1871. In 1879 after the fearful outbreak of yellow fever in the South, he was appointed a member of the National Board of Health and served in that capacity five years. He was a member of the American Public Health Association from its founding in 1872, and served in the advisory counsel, the executive committee and as its president. He was a trustee of the Eastern University of Chicago, prior to the dissolution of that organization, and later a trustee of the Northwestern University at Evanston, which office he held up to the time of his death. At the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion, he was appointed by Governor Richard Yates of Illinois as a member of the Board of Examiners, with the rank of major. To this board was referred every candidate for appointment as surgeon or assistant surgeon to the Illinois troops. He was elected president of the board. He records that in this capacity, "I with the board examined about twelve hundred doctors and I know that very many incompetent men were kept out of the service by the action of the board. In my official capacity, I visited the front much of the way from Vicksburg around to Port Royal and became somewhat familiar with the experiences of our armies in camp and on the battle field." For many years he was a director of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society and repeatedly served as its president. The distribution of more than five millions of dollars in money by that society, after the great fire, involved much responsi-

bility and much hard work. During that terrible winter, he devoted practically all of his energies and time to the almost overwhelming task devolving upon that organization. His special duty as Chairman of the Committee on Sick, Sanitary and Hospital methods, was a very important part of the relief work and he was given the responsibility of providing for the needs of the city and its unfortunates in a manner to relieve present suffering and forestall later epidemic illness that might result from improper sanitary care of the city and its many homeless sufferers. During the crisis he was a member of the Chicago Board of Health. This added obligation increased his responsibility, but it also increased, perhaps more prompt co-operation and co-ordination of these two bodies, thus increasing the efficiency of their service. Dr. Johnson considered this work as among the most useful things he had done in his life. It certainly required a high degree of sacrifice, both of material interest and personal comforts, and it was most earnestly entered upon and was carried through a lofty spirit of altruism and devotion to duty. During his whole medical life he was intimately connected with one or more hospitals in the city, beginning with his internship at Mercy Hospital, where he was the first incumbent. He served as physician in Mercy, St. Luke and Cook County Hospitals. In the latter he was at one time pathologist. He was consulting physician at the Woman's Hospital, the Illinois Eye and Ear Infirmary and Michael Reese Hospital, and on retiring from active general practice, retained his connection with Mercy Hospital, St. Luke and the Woman's Hospital as consulting physician. His professional duties and his many assumed obligations were a great tax upon his strength, early broken by ill health and further weakened by repeated sicknesses. He made almost yearly journeys from home for recuperation, in addition to the many required of him in the fullfilment of his obligations. In that way he traveled in all parts of his own country, in Mexico and the East Indies. He visited Europe seven times, portions of his earlier visits abroad being spent in hospital observations and study. His professional and scientific writings were in form of many addresses, reports of cases and essays upon various subjects. They were published in journals and in the volumes of transactions of societies or from time to time in pamphlet form. He edited the report of the Relief and Aid Society published in 1874, detailing the system of relief and accounting for the distribution of the fire-fund, and that portion of it relating to sick, hospital and sanitation measures was prepared by him or under his immediate direction.

In the early years of his practice he was associated with Drs. Brainard and Herrick, and a considerable portion of his work was surgery. This was later abandoned for a more strictly medical field, although he continued to practice surgery of the throat and nose, and for a good many years, this branch was a very important part of his work. He never confined himself to it as a specialty and his chief medical strength lay in general medicine. In the sick-room and in the hospital wards, his presence was that of an ideal physician. No detail escaped him, but his vigilance was unobtrusive and masked by manly gentleness of manner that won the hearts and confidence of his patients and

attendants alike and inspired that hope which adds a physic stimulus to the normal healing powers of nature. His home relations were very happy, although not free from sorrows of affliction. In 1855 he was married to Margaret Ann Seward, a daughter of the late J. B. Seward, who was a cousin of William H. Seward. There were born to them a son and a daughter. The daughter always frail, always the center of the family's generous care and affection, died in 1888 at the age of thirty years. Her broad culture, her delicate wit, her bright and happy mind, made her the pride and the pet of her family and her friends. The son Frank Seward Johnson, graduated from the Department of Arts and Sciences in the Northwestern University in 1878 and from the Chicago Medical College in 1881, and is a practicing physician in his native city.

The later years of Dr. Johnson's life were years of comparative rest, although he was never able to reduce his activities more than his failing body compelled. Yet he enjoyed in a measure the restfulness of age, accustomed through life to strenuous work under conditions of fluctuating health and patient suffering. He habitually and unceasingly excelled the bounds of his strength and in February, 1891, after a cold country-ride he succumbed to a disease he had successfully fought in four previous illnesses and died of acute pneumonia, February 26, 1891.

The purity and the simplicity of his early life and the untarnished beauties of his wilderness-home lent their influence in directing the trend of his receptive and active mind and in determining it to high ideals. As his character ripened he developed rare judgment, a judgment deepened by insight and an unerring sense of justice and a love of truth almost divine. These characteristics were coupled with an inborn and an early enforced industry, and were a splendid equipment for his successful life-work. His gentility, equanimity and sense of justice made him universally a favorite, and in the serious work of his life he brought honor and advancement to his every undertaking.

PART II

DOCUMENTS.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE OCCUPATION OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY BY THE BRITISH.

Contributed by Clarence E. Carter, University of Illinois.

In printing the following documents an attempt has been made to bring together the papers relating directly to the actual occupation of Fort de Chartres* and the Illinois country. Although France definitely gave up her claims to the region west of the Alleghany Mountains in 1763, the British were unable to relieve the French garrison in the Illinois region until 1765. This was due to the breaking out of the great Indian rebellion in 1763, which effectually blocked all the roads to the west. Unsuccessful attempts were made in 1764 to reach Fort de Chartres by way of the Mississippi river. The pacification of the Indian nations, however, seemed to be the first consideration. This was accomplished by 1765 and in the summer of that year General Gage sent orders to Fort Pitt directing Captain Sterling, with a detachment of the 42d Regiment, to proceed down the Ohio river to the Illinois country. The papers here presented relate the story of the occupation and the events immediately following. Although search has been made in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum as well as in our own depositories, I have been unable to find any other documents relating directly to the event. There are, however, numerous references to the occupation scattered throughout the Gage and Johnson correspondence.

Eidington to ——— (?) October 17, 1765.

Copy, letter from Lieut. James Eidington of the 42d (or Royal Highland) regiment, one of the four officers who with a hundred of that regiment took possession of Fort Chartres, dated Fort Chartres, 17th October, 1765.†

I wrote you from Fort Pitt before I left that place, giving an account of the long journey I was about to undertake; we left the above post August 24th and did not arrive here till the 9th instant; and we have found the distance to answer the French account which is Five

*The French name of the fort was Fort de Chartres. The British officers are probably responsible for the dropping of the "de".

†Chatham MSS., vol. 97 Public Record Office, London. The original draft does not seem to have been preserved. There is nothing in the extract that remains to indicate to whom the letter was written.

Hundred Leagues. The Passage was pleasant enough, until we came to the Mississippi, but after that it became immensely fatiguing from the rapidity of the Stream.

I believe I mentioned to you the great chance there was of our being cutt off from the Capriciousness of the Savages, and their not being accustomed to the English, and from the great Regard they have always shown to the French, who have no doubt used every Method to prevent the English getting Possession of the Illinois country; from whence I may almost say one-third of the Fur Trade of North America centers, but as good luck would have it we passed the numerous Nations of Indians, and even came here in the most critical Season of the Year, and when all the Savages was out a Hunting, and have got Peaceable Possession of one of the pretyest Stone Fort I ever saw, though that is indeed saying all of it, for we neither found Ammunition nor any other Stores, that are usually expected in such a place, and if everything of the necessary kind can't be got before the Spring which is the great time of the Indians to come to trade, and should they take anything in their heads the Garrison must be left to their mercy, and what can One hundred men do without Provisions against three or four thousand Indians, but this is only the worst side of things, and now for the Inhabitants and Country, etc.

The French have dispersed themselves through the Country in several small villages, and have several small Forts, that is to say at the Chief of their towns, they, however, withdrew their Troops from all the above posts, except Fort Chartres, where they had a Captain & another Officer and about forty men, with a Commissary and some other Petty Officers: the French Troops we relieved here might be called anything else but Soldiers, in short I defy the best drol or comick to represent them at Drury Lane.

Monsieur Saint Ange who is the French Commandant removed his Garrison to the other side of the Mississippi, where the French Merchants have built several Towns, and either has or is to remove to the Spanish Side. Their reason is too plain to need any explanation and can be with no other view than that of depriving us of the chief benefit of our new Country, namely the Indian Trade.

The above will no doubt be a Bone of Future Contention, and of course business for us.

The Merchants and Inhabitants make us pay an immoderate price for everything we have occasion for, and as the English Merchants have not yet arrived nor can they now until the Spring, it will be attended with a great expence. They have indeed but little here, for they are doing us a vast favor when they let us have a Gallon of French Brandy at twenty Shillings Sterling, and as the price is not as yet regulated, the Eatables is in proportion.

The only thing we solace ourselves with is that of being relieved, which we hope very soon. The 34th Regiment* we daily expect for that purpose, but should they not arrive in a short time, it will be impossible for them tocome till the Spring.

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*The 34th Regiment was coming from Mobile under the command of Major Farmar.

The Country here is indeed very fine and praiseworthy and capable of raising anything, but it is much too flat to be healthy, for it is not uncommon for Plains of two or three hundred miles on a Stretch, all of which is well stocked with Buffalo, and all sorts of Game.

As I think there is now a great chance of this never coming to your hand, I have not been so particular or exact as I otherwise would, and must refer you to my next when I shall have it more in my power.

Sterling to Gage, October 18, 1765.

Extract of a letter from Capt. Sterling commanding a detachment of the 42d Regiment at Fort Chartres in the Ilinois country; to His Excel'y Gen. Gage. Dated Fort Chartres, Oct. 18th, 1765.*

"I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency of my arrival at this Port, with the Detachment under my Command, on the 9th Inst., after having been Forty-Seven Days on the Way, the lowness of the Ohio made the Navigation extremely difficult & tedious and tho' I made the utmost Expedition, it was not in my Power to do it sooner. I met a French Trader about Forty Miles below the Oubàche with Two Boats loaded & Thirty Men and the Shawanese Chief who Lieut. Fraser mentioned in His Letter to have come to the Ilinois† with a Talk from Mr. d'Aubry. He is very much in the French Interest, & did everything in His Power to dissuade the few Indians that accompanied the Party from Fort Pitt, from proceeding and to intimidate us, he had likewise persuaded the French to fire on the party which they had agreed to do, if they had not found it too strong, this I was assured of by an Indian who was with them and run away, when they had taken the resolution, as he would not be present when the English were struck, Finding the French in this Disposition I thought it necessary to send Lieut. Rumsey by Land with two Indians and two of the French who undertook to conduct him to Fort Chartres, from Fort Massiac, with a Letter to Mr. St. Ange to acquaint Him of my approach, and likewise that he might send Me notice in case the Indians were ill-disposed. By some accident they lost their way, and Lieut. Rumsey did not get there for Ten Days, so that with the diligence we used in getting up the Mississippi, the Detachment was within a League of the Village of Caskaskia before they had the least intelligence of our approach, which alarmed both the Savages and Inhabitants prodigiously, The former, after having consulted, agreed to meet us, with their Pipes of Peace, which they did next day, but no sooner saw our Numbers but they began to be very insolent, & I am much convinced that our coming so unexpectedly was the luckiest thing that could have happened, for tho' Mr. Croghan wrote that he had met and concluded a Peace at Ouiatonons with the Ilinois Chiefs, I am very well assured that not one of the Chiefs of the Nations living here were there, I arrived next day at Fort Chartres with my whole Detachment and

*Public Record office, America and West Indies, vol. 122. Transcripts of the two Sterling letters and the memorial are to be found in the Bancroft collection, Lenox library. The extracts are all we have preserved of the Sterling correspondence.

†Ilinois was frequently spelled with one *l*.

took possession of it. Mr. St. Ange had received Orders from Mr. d'Aubrie so soon as he had delivered up this Country to the British Troops, to go with His Garrison to the other side of the River, but as he expected to be relieved by Major Farmer, whose approach he would have to have some notice of, he was quite unprepared to go away immediately, therefore beg'd some little time, which I could not refuse him, as I imagined it could not be of any hurt to His Majesty's Service, being in possession of all the Posts and Country of the Ilinois. The Fort of Caskaskias having been abandoned by the French since the Treaty of Peace, it is almost in ruins, one face of it having fallen down, which prevented my sending a Detachment there, and indeed my party is so small and the Indians so numerous, so easily assembled and So insolent that I thought it for His Majesty's Service not to divide my little Force. The Indians have not been accustomed to have Troops among them since the Peace, so that they have been quite Masters here, and treated the Inhabitants as they thought proper, which has drove several of them to the other side of the River, were there is two Villages, one opposite to Caskaskias, settled about fourteen Years ago, called St. Genevieve, and has about Twenty-five familys, the other about Twenty Leagues higher up, called St. Louis, & has Forty families, It is established since the Cession of this Country to the English by those who either did not like to be under our Government or were frightened for the Indians; I order'e a Detachment and went myself to Caskaskias to have Your Excelcy's Proclamation read, and to make the Inhabitants take the oath of Fidelity, the whole presented a Memorial praying for Nine Months to settle their Affairs and to determine themselves whither they would continue under the British Government, before they should be obliged to take the Oath, which I flatly refused them and they seemed resolved to go over immediately As I imagined it would be a very great detriment to this Colony to have it depopulated, I at last agreed to grant them to the first of March, they taking an oath of fidelity to His Majesy during their residence under His Government, which they all consented to and took, and I suppose will be the terms the rest of the Inhabitants will stay on, as this is the principal Village, not one yet having given in their Names to go away. I hope Your Excellency will approve of what I have done, as it was what I judged for the best, I intend sending an Officer to Cauho, it being the next considerable village, the Prairiech Rocher, and St. Phillip having only a few Inhabitants, the Village of this place is quite depopulated, the River having run away with half of it, and every one is of Opinion that it will carry away the Fort next Spring, it having carried off more of the Land betwixt it and the Fort last year, than what remains, which is a great pity, as it is one of the best constructed Forts against the Indians in America, and able to contain 200 Men. Mr. St. Ang's Troops consist of One Officer and Twenty men, who are all here, and I expect He will be ready to leave this in a few days and I shall take care that no French Soldiers continue in this Country, there is numbers of reduced Officers, but as they have no pay & are commenced Traders, I allowed them the same terms as the Inhabitants, I found no judges nor any police, I have

made some few Regulations with regard to that, I have not been able to get an exact account yet of the Numbers of Inhabitants, but shall transmit that or any thing else I may learn by the first Opportunity.

"I beg leave to represent to Your Excellency the disagreeable Situation I am in here without an Agent or Interpreter for the Indians, or Merchandize for Presents to them which they all expect, I brought a few things from Fort Pitt, but they were neither sufficient nor proper, and I have been obliged to take up some Goods from the French Merchants at a Dear rate. Your Excellency in Your Instructions to Me supposed that Mr. Croghan would be here, but I learn from Detroit that he is gone down to our Colonies, Numbers of the Indians have already come in to receive presents, and I've been obliged to put them off with some small things, and Promises of more in the spring when there will be great Numbers of them on that Account, and to sell Skins, it is therefore of the greatest Consequences that Major Farmer should be here before they assemble as a respectable Body of Troops will keep them in Awe, and they would not have it in their power to obstruct His Passage, I have received a good deal of assistance from Mr. St. Ange in quieting the Indians, and I am convinced he has had no hand in the Commotions the French may have been stirring up with Indians, to the contrary he saved Mr. Croghan's Life when they had determined to burn him, by sending an Express with two Belts to the Savages, for which I have seen Mr. Croghan's Letter of thanks.

"Mr. St. Ange hesitated a good while before he delivered up the amunition and Artillery Stores. As he said His positive Orders were, to give up the Fort with Ten Pieces of Cannon, however he has agreed. Your Excellency will see by the Inventory I have the honor to send you how little Value they are of, and how small a quantity of Powder he had. When I left Fort Pitt Colonel Reid did not think it necessary I should have much Ammunition with me, as I should find it here, therefore gave me little more than Sixty Pounds, I have therefore applied to the Merchants, and they have agreed to spare me a little with the Proviso that I take goods likewise, they put it out of my power of laying my Hands upon it, as thy Transported it to the other side.

"I have just now received a Petition to be transmitted to Your Excellency from the Inhabitants of Caskaskias, which they insist I should, as it was in hopes of your granting them that, that made them accept of the terms I allowed them.

"I likewise send enclosed the Verbal process of the cession of the Fort & the Inventory of the Artillery, Stores of every kind, signed by Mr. St. Ange and me, and likewise by the French Commissary and Lieut. Rumsey, who I appointed to act as Commissary. there is a Declaration added that all the Stores belonging to His Most Christian Majesty at the time of our taking possession has been delivered up. Mr. St. Ange just now put a Protest in my Hands against my taking the Powder, etc., which is contrary to His Instructions, & when I expostulated with him about it, He told Me it was only to exculpate Him in case He should be found fault with, by disobeying His orders.

(Indorsed.)

Extract of a letter from Captain Sterling commanding a detachment of the 42nd Regiment at Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country, to His Excellency General Gage.
Dated Fort Chartres, October 18th, 1765,
In Major Gen. Gage's of the 16th Jan'y, 1765, giving account of his taking Possession of the Illinois country & of the situation of affairs there.

Proces-Verbal de la Cession du Fort de Chartre.
à Monsieur Sterling, 10 8 bre, 1765.

LOUISIANNE.

10. 8bre 1765.

Procés-verbal de la Cession du fort de Chartre à Monsieur Sterling nommé par Monsieur Degage Gouverneur de la nouvelle Yorck, Commandant les troupes de sa Majesté Britannique dans l'Amérique.

Aujourd'hui dix Octobre mille Sept cent soixante cinq, nous Louis Saint Ange de Belrive, Captaine d'infanterie, Commandant pour sa Majesté très chrétienne au dit fort de Chartre et Joseph Lefebvre, Garde des magasins du Roi et fesant fonction de Commissaire au dit fort en conséquence des ordres que nous avons reçu de Messieurs Aubry, Chevalier de l'ordre royal et militaire de saint Louis, Commandant de la province de la Louisanne et Foucault Commissaire contrôleur de la marine, ordonnateur en la dite province pour céder à Mr. Sterling, nommé par Mr. Degage, gouverneur de la nouvelle Yorck et commandant général des troupes de sa Majesté britannique dans l'Amerique et dans toute la partie gauche de la province de la Louisianne suivant le septième article du traité définitif de la paix conclue à Versailles le 10 février 1763, Entre sa Majesté trés chrétienne de france et de Navarre et sa Majesté Britannique, le dit fort de Chartre.

Nous avons procédé à la dite cession ainsi qu"il suit:

SAVIOR.

Le dit fort de Chartre, situé la face au fleuve au sud à quatre cents lieus environ de la nouvelle Orléans.

Le fort de Chartre

Le bastion du sud Est, jusqu'à celui du Sud-Ouest inclusives quatre vingt toises et demi et deux pieds

Face d'Ouest avec ses bastions

Dix neuf toises et demi

Du flanc du Bastion

Cinq toises et demi

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*Transcript of a copy in "Paris Documents, 17:252-63," in the New York State Library; compared by A. J. F. van Lear. A translation of the French version appears in the New York Colonial Documents, Vol. X:1161-1165.

Des Latrines

Trois toises, un pied.

Face entre les deux bastions
des latrines inclusivement

Cinquante six toises

Face du Nord

Vingt quatre toises

Face d'une Courtine au Nord

Cinquante neuf toises et demi

Face de l'Est
à commencer de la guérite Nord-Est

Vingt six toises

Courtine du Nord-Est

Soixante et une toises et demi

GRANDE PORTE D'ENTRÈE.

Hauteur de la porte au sud jusqu'a la voute.
Dix pieds de haut.

L'Arcade de la voute au dessus de la Porte.
Cinq pieds de haut, Dix piede de large.

Deux toises de profondeur garnie d'une guérite à chaque côté, une plate forme audessus de la porte de pierre de taille de trois toises de long et deux de large avec deux gouttiers en plomb garnis d'une galerie de bois, le portail de la porte en pierre de taille, deux embrasures sur la plate forme ouverte, une escalier de dix neuf marches faites de moitons et planches, avec un garde fou de moiton pour monter à la dite plate forme, un vent fort de chaque côté de la dite porte en dedans garni de chaque côté de quartre bornes de pierre de taille, deux en dedans, deux en dehors.

CORPS DE BATIMENT

servant de Magasin et de logement au garde-Magasin.

Côté du Sud.

Quatorze toises de long, quatre toises à l'Ouest et quatre à l'Est, Cinq fenètres au Sud en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et pentures de fer ainsi que de leurs chassis, à la mansarde deux fenètres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et pentures, au pignon de l'Ouest une fenètre en pierre de taille garnie de ses contrevents et pentures.

Côté du Nord.

Deux chambres, un cabinet pour le logement du grade magasin, deux dito servant de magasin avec un escalier, trois portes en pierre de taille, garnies de leurs contrevents et chassis et pentures à la mansarde trois fenétres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrure, une cheminée double.

CORPS DE GARDE.

Côté du sud.

Quartorze toises de long, quatre toises à l'Ouset et quatre toises á l'Est, cinq fenètres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrurres, au pignon de l'Est deux fenètres en pierre de taille garnis de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansarde deux fenetres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, au pignon de l'ouest une porte en pierre de taille pour entrer au Corps de grade garnie de ses ferrures.

Façade du Nord.

Une chambre pour le Corps de garde, une chambre pour l'Officier, une chambre pour le Canonnier avec un escalier pour monter au grenier, deux chambres et une cabinet pour la Chapelle et logement du missionnaire, un éventail au dessus de celui de la Chapelle, quatre fenètres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansarde trois fenétres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures une cheminée double et une simple.

GOUVERNEMENT.

Face du Sud.

Treize toises et demi et cinq toises à l'Ouest, quatre fenétres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, deux portes en pierre de taille, une en éventail, garnies de leurs ferrures, un tambour avec un escalier dedans pour monter au grenier, deux chambres, trois cabinets, garnis de leurs portes et ferrures, une cuisine avec un four dedans, un cabinet garni de leurs portes et ferrures, une cave, à la mansarde trois fenêtres en bois garnies.

Face du Nord.

Une porte en pierre de taille garnie de ses ferrures, cinq fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, un oeil de beuf, à la mansard deux fenetres en bois garnies de leurs contrevens et ferrures, au pignon de L'Ouest, une chambre, un cabinet, une fenêtre en pierre de taille garnies de ses contrevents et ferrures, deux toises de hauteur de mur, deux cheminées double, une remise à l'Ouest, un colombier de deux toises, cave à trois toises de haut avec un grand puit dedans en pierre.

INTENDANCE.

Face du Sud.

Treize toises et demi et cinq toises à l'Ouest, deux portes en pierre de taille, une à éventail garnies de leurs ferrures, quatre fenetres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevens et ferrures, à la mansarde, trois fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs pentures et contrevens, un tambour avec un escalier pour monter au grenier, deux chambres et trois cabinets garnis de leurs ferrures, une cuisine, avec un four dedans, et un cabinet garnis de leurs portes et ferrures une cave, à l'Est deux fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, une chambre et un cabinet.

Au Nord.

Une porte en pierre de taille garnie de sa ferrure, cinq fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents, et ferrures, deux cheminées double, un four pour les troupes.

Ier CORPS DE CASERNE

Face de l'Est

Vingt toises et deux pieds, au nord deux toises et deux pieds, trois portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, deux Corridors, un escalier, dans un pour monter au grenier, trois chambres de Caserne, deux chambres et deux cabinets pour logement d'Officier garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, neuf fenêtres en pierre d taille garnies de leurs contrevents pentures, à la mansarde, six fenêtres de bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures.

Face de l'Ouest

Deux portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, cinq fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et frrures, à la mansarde trois fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, au nord un appenti avec une porte en bois garni de sa ferrure et trois fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et pentures, au sud une fenêtre en pierre de taille garnie de son contrevent et penture trois cheminées doubles.

2e CORPS DE CASERNE

Face de l'Ouest

Vingt toises et deux pieds et cinq toises au sud trois portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, deux corridors, un escalier dans un pour monter au grenier, trois chambres de Caserne et deux chambres et deux Cabinets pour logement d'Officir garnies de leurs portes et ferrures, neuf fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansarde, six fenêtres de bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures.

Face de l'Est.

Deux portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, cinq fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansard trois fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, au sud une fenêtre en pierre de taille

POUDRIER

Quartre toises de front avec sa porte en pierre de taille garnie de deux portes, une en tôle et l'autre en bois garnies de leurs ferrures, cinq toises et demi de large, six toises de long, un corps de batiment, deux toises de haut, une fenêtre de haut en pierre de taille garni de ses contrevens en bois et un de fer.

BOULANGERIE

Sept toises du nord, onze pieds de haut, deux pignons de deux toises chacun, quatre fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevens

et ferrures, deux chambres et un cabinet garnis de leur portes et ferrures, deux fours dedans un escalier avec son garde fou en bois pour monter au grenier, deux cheminées simple un puit devan la boulangerie en pierre.

PRISON

Face du Sud.

Six toises, quatre cachots en pierre de taille garnis de leurs portes et ferrures, deux portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, une à l'Ouest et l'autre à l'Est, quatre fenètres en pierre de taille, garnies d leurs barreaux de fer et contrevents et ferrures, deux au sud et deux au Nord axec deux escaliers double, en bois avec un petite galerie a chaque une cheminée double.

UNE GRANDE PORTE DE DECOURS AU NORD EAGLE A CELLE DU SUD.

Deux latrines au Nord en bois, et deux à l'Ouest en pierre de Taille garnies de leurs portes et ferrures.

La hauteur des murs du FORT est de dix huit pieds, Courtine du Sud du bord du fleuve, de huit pilastres et quarante sept créneaux, dito celle du nord de huit pilastres et quarante sept créneaux, [dito celle du Nord de huit pilastres et cinquante créneaux] dito celle de l'Est de dix pilastres et cinquante cinq créneaux, dito celle de l'Ouest de dix pilastres et cinquante cinq créneaux.

BASTION de la boulangerie au sud d'Est huit pilastres et cinquante créneaux et huit embrasures, dito celui de la prison sud-Ouest huit pilastres, quarante neuf créneaux, huit embrasures, dito celui de Nord-Ouest, huit pilastres et quarante huit créneaux huit embrasures, dito celui de la poudriere, Nord-Est huit pilastres, cinquante créneaux et huit embrasures, le tout en pierre de taille, une guérite dans chaque bastion, sortant dehors du mur en pierre de taille à cul de lampe avec une corniche au dessus et voutée, sept degrés en pierre de taille pour y monster.

HANGARD

à Quarante toises du Fort.

de poteaux en terre, trois toises au pignon de largeur, dix toises de longueus, couvert en bardeau, une grande cheminée de pierre dans le milieu soutenue par quatre piliers de bois, une grande porte double, cinq fenêtres garnies de leurs contrevens et ferrures, tous les batimens ci-dessus détaillés couverts en bardeaux.

Lesquels bâtimens et ouvrages de fortifications mentionnés au présent procés-verbal, nous Officer ci-dessus nommé, avons ce jourd'hui remis a Monsieur Sterling, nommé par Monsieur Degage, Commandant Général des troupes de sa Majesté Britannique dans l'Amérique et dans toute la partie gauche de la Louisianne.

Au fort de Chartre ce 10 8bre 1765.

Nous Commandant les troupes de sa Majesté Britannique au fort de Chartre et nous Commissaire nommé par sa Majesté Britannique, Nous

certifions que les deux copies que Mr. de St. Ange et Mr. Lefebvre ont signé quoique écrites en Anglais sont conformes au présent.

Signé THOS. STERLING.

Signé RUMSEY.

A true copy,
Albany, June 10, 1907.
A. J. F. VAN LAER.

VERBAL PROCESS.*

Verbal process of the cession of Fort Chartres to Captain Sterling of His Majesty's 42d Regiment, appointed by General Gage, commander-in-chief of all His Britannick Majesty's Forces in America.

"This 10th day of October, 1765, We, Louis St. Ange, captain of Infantry and Commandant of the said Fort Chartres, on the part of His Most Christian Majesty, and Joseph Fievre, King's Commissary, and Store keeper of said Fort. In consequence of the Orders We Have received from Monsieur D'Aubry, Chevalier of the Royal and Order of St. Louis, Commandant of the Province of Louisiane, and Foucault, commissary Comptroller of Marine and Ordannateur in said Province; We deliver to Monsieur Stirling aforesaid.....the said Fort Chartres.....viz.....

	Measure.
From the S. E. Bastion to that of the S. W. Inclusive	84 Toises, ½x2 f.
West face with its Bastions	19 toses, 1x2 f.
Flanks of do	5 toses, 1x2 f.
Necessary House	3 toses, 1x1 f.
Face between the two Bastions, with Necessary House Included	56 toses, 1x f.
North Face	24 toses, 1x f.
Face of the Curtain	59 toses, 1x f.
East Face from the N. E. Centry Box	26 toses, ...
N. E. Curtain	61 toses, 1x f.
The great Gate of Entry, its Height to the Vault	10 ft.
The porch of the Vault above the Gate	5 feet high. 6 " broad. 2 toises in depth

with Two centry Boxes on each side, a platform upon the top of the whole, built with Free Stone 3 Toises in length and two in breadth, with two Leaden Spouts, a wooden Gallery, the Arch of the Gate likewise in Free Stone, 2 embrazures upon the Platform, a Flight of ten Steps, a Wooden Ladder to ascend said Platform, & a Rearfort on Each Side of the Gate, with Corner Stones, two without & 4 within to prevent Carriages, hurting the wall.

Buildings serving as Stores, and Lodgings for the Magazine Guard, 14 Toises in length, 4 Toises on the W. and 4 on the E. end; five Windows on the South, built with Free Stone, furnished with their Barrs, shutters etc., etc.

Upon the Roof 2 woden ditto with ditto.

At the Gable end 1 do in Stone.....ditto.

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*Public Record Office, America and West Indies, vol. 122. The copy in the Record Office is the original English version. It is in the handwriting of James Rumsey, commissary.

Northside 2 Chambers and a Closet for the Magazine Guard, 2 Ditto serving as Stores, with a Stairs, three doors built in Stone, with their Locks, etc upon the Roof, three Windows in Wood, with Shutters, Barrs etc., etc. & 1 double chimney.
Southside, 14 Toises long, 4 toises on the West, 4 do on E. end, 5 Stone Windows with Shutters, etc., at the end 2 do. Upon the Roof 2 do in Wood, at the West end of a Door built in Stone to enter the Guard, with a Lock, etc. Northface one Chamber for the Gunner, with a pair of Stairs to ascend the Loft.

1 chamber for the Guard, 1 Do for the Officer, 2 Chambers & a Closet for the Chapel, a Lodging for the Missionary, a Sash Window above the Door of the Chapel, 4 Stone Windows with Shutters &c. 3 do in wood upon the Roof with ditto, 1 double & 1 Single chimney.

Governors S.—Face.

13 Toises & ½ & 5 do to the W. 4 Stone Windows with Shutters &c. 2 do doors one of which has a Sash above it, both furnished with Locks &c. an entry with a Stairs to assend the Loft, 2 Chambers & 3 Closets with Doors & Locks, a Kitchen with a small oven, a Closet with a door &c, a cellar, upon the Roof 3 Windows in Wood with Shutters Barrs &c.

N. Face.

A Door in Store with its Lock &c, 5 Windows do with Shutters &c a Skylight upon the roof, 2 Windows in Wood with Shutters &c, 2 toises the height the Wall, 2 double Chimneys, a shed at the W. End, a Pidgeon House 2 Toises Square, under which is a well.

Intendants S. Face.

13 Toises and ½ & 5 toises at the W. end, 2 Doors in Stone, above one of them a Small Sash with their Locks &c, 4 Stone Windows with Shutters &c. Upon the Roof 3 wooden ditto, an entry with a Stairs to ascend the Loft, 2 Chambers & 3 Closets with their Door and Lock, a Kitchen with an oven, a Closet with its Door and Lock, a Celler, at the E. 2 Windows in Stone with Shutters &c, a Chamber & a Closet.

N. Face.

A Door in Stone with a Lock &c, 5 Windows in Do with Shutters &c, 2 double Chimneys, and an Oven for the Troops.

Cazerne.

20 Toises, and 2 feet, to the N. 2 toises and 2 feet, three Doors in Stone with their Locks &c. 2 Entries, in one a Ladder to mount the Loft, 3 Chambers de Cazerne, 2 Chambers and 2 Closets for officers with doors &c 9 windows in Stone, and Six in Wood upon the Roof with their Shutters &c.

W. Face.

2 Stone Doors with Locks &c, 5 Windows do with Shutters &c, 3 Wooden do in Roof with do a Shed with a wooden door with Locks, 3 Windows do with Shutters at the S. a Window in Stone with Shutters &c, 3 double Chimneys.

2d Cazerne.

20 Toises and 2 feet, & 5 toises to the S., 2 Doors in Stone with their Locks, 2 Entrys with a Stairs to ascend the Loft, 3 Chambers de Cazerne & 2 Chambers & 2 Closets for the Officers with Doors and Locks, 9 Windows in Stone, & Six in wood upon the Roof with Shutters, &c.

E. Face.

2 Doors in Stone with Locks, 5 Windows in do, & 3 do in wood upon the Roof with their Shutters & C, at the S End a window in Stone with Shutters &c. 3 double chimneys and an oven for the Troops.

Powder Magazine.

4 Toises in front with its door in Stone & Lock. Two others in wood with do, 5 do broad & 6 Toises long within, 2 Toises high a window upon the East, with its Shutters &c.

The Bake House.

7 Toises to the North 11 feet high the 2 Ends, 2 Toises each, 4 windows in Stone with Shutters &c. 2 Chambers & a Closet with Doors &c, 2 Ovens, a Ladder to ascend to Loft, 2 Single Chimneys, and a well before the House.

Prison—S. Face.

Six Toises, 4 Prison Rooms with their Doors &c. 2 doors in Stone with do. One on the West, and the other on the East, 4 Windows in Do with Shutters &c. 2 to the South, and 2 to the N. with 2 wooden stair Cases, & 2 Small Gallerys, and no double Chimneys.

A Large Gate upon the North Side equal in dimension to that upon the South.

2 necessary Houses to the North in Wood, and 2 to the W in Stone with Doors and Locks, the Height of the Walls of the Fort is 18 Feet.

The S. Curtain near the River	8	Pilasters	and	47	loopholes		
N	8	"	and	50	"		
E	10	"	and	55	"		
W	10	"	and	55	"		
Bake house Bastion to the S. E.	8	pilasters	50	loopholes	and	8	embrazures
Prison	8	"	49	"	and	8	"
N. W.	8	"	48	"	and	8	"
P. Magazine	8	"	50	"	and	8	"

All in (a kind of) Free Stone.

A Centry Box in each Bastion falling on the outside of the wall, built in Free Stone and Vaulted above with steps to ascend them.

A Pent House for the use of Savages at 40 Toises from the Fort,

10 Toises long and 3 Broad, with a large Stone Chimney in the Middle, a large double door, & 5 windows with Shutters &c.

Which Buildings and Fortifications, we the above named Officers have delivered into the Hands of Monsieur Stirling, appointed by His Excellency General Gage Commander in Chief of all His Brittannick Majesty's Forces in America.

FORT CHARTRES 10th Octor, 1765,
(Signed) ST. ANGE
LE FIEVRE.

THOS. STIRLING,
J. RUMSEY, *D Commissary.*

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS IN FORT CHARTRES.*

Inventory and State of the Utensils, Military Stores &c, delivered this day by le Sieur le Fievre, Commissary on the part of His most Christian Majesty, to Thomas Stirling, Esq. Captain Commandant of His Brittannick Majesty's Troops and bearer of the orders of His Excellency General Gage which Stores have been verified, by Lieutenant James Rumsey of the 42d Regiment appointed Commissary on the part of His Brittannick Majesty, by Capt. Thomas Stirling aforesaid.

FORT CHARTRES, Oct. 1765.

In the 1st Apartment.	2.
2 Bedsteads.	13 bad chairs.
1 Small Press with 2 drawers.	2 arm ditto.
28 Rush Cotton Chairs.	2 do.
1 Table with a Drawer.	13 Common do, Serviceable.
2 Common dito.	1 Table with a cloth.
1 pair of Iron Dogs.	1 Small folding do.
1 Fire Shovel.	2 Bedsteads.
3 Buckets.	1 Press.
1 Large Kettle.	1 pair of dogs, 1 shovel & tongs.
1 Pair of dogs.	
1 Fire Shovel.	3rd.
1 Pair of Tongs.	1 Press.
1 Table.	1 Bedstead.
1 Small Press.	2 ditto.
Bedstead.	1 large Table & 2 Frames for do.
Straw Bed.	1 Small do with a drawer.
4 Bedsteads with Bottoms & one without.	1 arm & 8 Common Chairs.

*Original MSS. Public Record office, America and West Indies, Vol. 122.

Inventory of the Goods in Fort Chartres—Continued.

2 bad Chairs, 2 Small Presses & a large Table.

4.

5 Chairs.
2 Folding Tables.
1 Large Bufet.
1 Large Bedstead.
1 Bucket.
1 pair of dogs.
1 Shovel & Tongs & one Small Press.

5.

2 Presses, 1 Rack for Arms.
2 bad Straw beds, & a Bedstead.
1 good & 2 bad Bedsteads.
1 Large Press & 1 Small.
1 Table with a bad cloth.

7.

1 Bedstead & 3 Presses.
4 Chairs & one Table with a drawer.
2 Bedsteads without Bottoms.
1 Bucket.

8.

1 Large and 1 small Press.
2 Folding and 1 Common Table.
4 chairs, one of which is bad.

9.

3 Common Bedsteads without bottoms.
1 Rack for holding arms.
1 Shelf to hold the Mens Bread & 1 Trough.

10.

7 Common Bedsteads.
1 Large Table for the Soldiers, 1 Rack for arms.
1 Shelf for Bread, Bench, & 1 Straw Bed—bad.

11

7 Common Bedsteads.
1 Rack & Soldiers Table, with 2 bad & 1 good chair.

12 Hospital.

4 Bed steads with & 3 without Bottoms.
1 Soldiers Table, 2 benches, & a shelf for Bread.
1 Bucket & 2 small Tubs.
2 pair Coarse Sheets.
4 Buffaloe Skins.
14 Blankets, all much used & some very bad.
1 large pewter soup dish.
2 ditto Plates & a small bason.
1 Brass Candlestick.
1 good & 1 bad strawbed.
1 Iron pot & 1 frying Pan. Bad.
1 Knife, Hatchet & Spoon.
1 Rack for Arms & 2 cloth biers for the Sick.

13.

1 Soldiers Table.
4 bed steads with & 3 without bottoms.
1 Rack, 2 benches & a Kettle.
5 bad chairs, 1 Iron Pot, 1 Bucket.
2 Shelves for bread, & a small tub.

14.

6 Bedsteads & 5 straw beds.
1 Kettle, one Table, 2 benches & 1 Rack.
2 buckets & 2 Iron Potts.

15 Bake House.

3 large Tables for the bread.
1 small do with a Drawer.
2 Kettles with Covers.
1 Stopper for the Oven.
2 Iron Potts.
1 small Brass do.
8 bad blankets to cover the bread.
10 cloth covers for do.
1 Iron to draw the bread.
2 Cloth bags.
2 buckets, 1 Tub, 1 pair of Scales with weights.
2 Rollers, 2 Prickers.
1 Seive, 5 Tables, & 7 chairs.

16.

1 Bedstead & bench.
1 Large & small Press.

17 Guard Room.

1 Guard Bed, 1 Rack & Table, 1 Bench.
1 Bucket & a Brass Cup.

18 Officers Guard room.

1 Table & Arm chair.

19 Prison.

1 Bed Stead, 1 straw bed & a Table.

Inventory of the Goods in Fort Chartres—Concluded.

Artillery Stores.

No. of Cannon.

1	6	pounder
3	4	do
1	3	do
1	2	do
1	1½	do
7		

5 Swivels.
4 Wheels.
4 Files.
4 Coins.
4 Linstocks

	l	lb.	
Powder	255	50	damaged
Ball	619		
Bar lead	298		per measure

lb.
143 in Iron
122½ in Lead

N. B. Most of these articles tho' mentioned good were originally of a very bad quality.

Omitted.

One Brass pair of Scales for Powder Room. 1 Bell and a Large writing table.
32 platforms & 482 plank.

(Signed) St. Ange Le Febvre.

Thos. Stirling,

J. Rumsey, *D Commissary.*

Je Soussigné Certifie avoir donné á Monsieur Sterlin generolement tontes les Munitious de Guerre, qu' ils se sont trouve dons le Ford D'Chartres, et pays Illinois le jour de la prise de possession aux Illinois ce 10 O bu 1765.

(Signé) Le Febvre.

Indorsed.

Inventory of Stores and Utensils delivered to Captain Thomas Stirling of His Majesty's 42d Regiment by the French Commissary at Fort Chartres.

Sterling to Gage, December 15, 1765.

Extract of a letter from Captain Sterling of His Majesty's 42nd Regt. of Foot to His Excellency, Major General, Honorable Thos. Gage, Commander-in-Chief in North America.*

"Mons" St. Ange withdrew on the 23 with all the French Troops in this Country to a Village called St. Louis on the Spanish side, opposite to Caho, having Orders to that purpose from Monsr. Aubrey, he had no Soldiers in any of the Posts except this, a reduced Officer acted as Commandant at Caskaskias, and another at Caho, they have both left this side likewise."

*Public Record Office, America and West Indies; Vol. 122.

"The only Judges here was one LeFevre who was Judge, King's Commissary, and Garde du Magazin, and another who acted as Procureur du Roi;* All Causes were tried before them, and their Sentence confirmed or revised by the Council at N. Orleans, in case of appeal, the Commandant decided all small disputes, yet every complaint was addressed to him, and he ordered the Judge to try them; Those Two are gone to the Spanish side being continued in their employments there. I was therefore obliged to appoint one Mr. La Grange to decide all disputes that might arise amongst the Inhabitants. According to the Laws and Customs of the Country, with liberty to Appeal to me, in case they were not satisfied with his decision; I first consulted the principal of them, if he was agreeable to them which they all told me he was, however if I may take the Liberty to give my Opinion, it will be necessary that Judges be sent here to administer Justice, as Mr. La Grange knowledge of the Law is not sufficient to fill that employment as it ought to be. The Captains of Militia have the same power as in Canada. The Inhabitants Complain very much for want of Priests, there is but one now remains, the rest either having died or gone away, and he stays on the other side, he was formerly a Jesuit and would have been sent away likewise if the Caskaskias Indians, to whom he was Priest, had not insisted on his staying which the French allowed him to do upon his renouncing Jesuitism, and turning Sulpitien, this Priest might be of great use to us, if he was brought over to this side, which I make no doubt might be effectuated, provided his former appointments were allowed him, which were 600 Livres pr Ann; from the King as Priest to the Indians."

I am not able to get an exact account of the number of the Inhabitants as there is always a number of them at N. Orleans, trading with the Indians or Hunting which they go to as regularly as the Savages, the Village of Caskaskias has about Fifty Familys and at Caho about Forty, those of Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, and St. Philip are almost totally abandoned; This Settlement has been declining since the Commencement of the War, and when it was ceded to us, many Familys went away for fear of the English, and want of Troops to protect them from the Indians; they have formed a settlement since the Peace opposite to Caho called St. Louis where there is now about fifty Familys, and they have another opposite to Caskaskias, which has been settled Thirty years ago, Called St. Genevieve about the same number of Familys, to these two Places they have retired; Mr. Neon who commanded before Mr. St. Ange was very active in enticing the Inhabitants of this side, to go over to the other, I wrote your Excellency that few or none had given in their names to go away which made me hope they intended staying, but I have found since that, that was only a blind, for many of them drove off their Cattle in the night & carried off their Effects & grain which I did everything in my power to prevent, but as I was not in Condition to send party's to the two Ferry's of Caho & Caskaskias, considering the disposition of the Indians, a good deal of cattle & some grain has been carried off,

*This was Joseph Labuxiere. See Illinois Historical Collections, II, 625, n. 16.

and if the gentlest methods are not used with those that stay, who are the best, we shall lose them too; There will be a necessity of building a Fort at Caskaskias, the former one being ruinous, ill situated and no water, and likewise one at Caho, as these are the places opposite to the Spanish Settlements, and where the Ferrys are, besides in all probability, the Mississippi will carry away this Fort by the month of June, it is at Caskaskias where they raise all the Grain for supplying the Troops; the Country is very level and clear of woods, with the finest Meadow I ever saw, in which we have advantage over the Spaniards, who have not room enough to form one good Settlement on the banks of the Mississippi, but they have the advantage of the Salt Springs & Lead Mines with which this Colony is supplied, on their side, none of those has yet been found out here"—

"I have enquired into the affair of the Jesuits, and find that they were dispossest and their Estates and Goods sold by an Order from the Council at N. Orleans, for the behoof of the King their Houses, Lands and goods here, were sold for a hundred & some odd thousand Livres, besides about Fifty Negros that were sent down to Orleans, and there sold; they carried away the Papers of sale so that I could not get an exact account, but so far I have learned from the person who was employed in the sale I have likewise learned that a Priest at Caho named Forget who was of the Mission Etranger of the Sulpitien, who was the only remaining in the Country, did sell since the Peace all the effects of that Order in this Country to the amount of about thirty thousand Livres with the consent of the then Governor who was Mr. Neon tho' several Inhabitants objected against it, and ordered it to be remitted to the Superior in France. He likewise gave three Negros their liberty.* As I did not know what your Excellency's Sentiments might be, I ordered the person who bought them to make no further payments, till your Orders should arrive, he having agreed to remit annually so much till the whole should be paid."

"I have not been able to find that the French King had any possessions in this Country except the Ground the Forts stand on, as no lands were ever bought from the Indians, who claim the whole as their property; As to their numbers, the Caskaskias Indians, who live within half a League of that Village, are about a Hundred & fifty Worriors; the Metchis & Peory as live one mile from this Fort, the former having forty the latter about two Hundred and fifty Warriors; The Caho's are about Forty likewise,—These Indians I am informed intend all going to the other side to live; The Caskaskias Indians told me in a Council they held before Mr. St. Ange, and me that, that was their intention, the French Emissarys have spared no pains to debauch the Indians & Inhabitants to leave us & a report they have spread that all the French Officers, are to be continued by the Spaniards & the Government of the other side to be entirely French, has contributed not a little to it"—

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*See Illinois Historical Collections, II, 499-509; Thwaites Jesuit Relations, LXXI, 37.

(Indorsed.)

Extract of a Letter from Captain Stirling to His Excellcy General Gage. Dated Illinois 15th December 1765.
In Major Genl Gage's of the 28th March 1766.
Containing Particulars with regard to the Settlements on the opposite Shore.
Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

Memorial of the Illinois French to General Gage.*

A Sou Excellence Thos. Gage, Gouverneur Genéral de l'Amerique Septemtrionale, Colonel du Vingt deuxiéme Regiment, Amiral du Pavillion Bleu.

Monsieur,—

Mr. Sterling vous aura sans doute appris qu'il a pris possession de ce Païs sans ancume Difficulté, et nous pouvous hardiment avancer, que si ceux qui out tenti de le faire avant lui, s'y étaient pris de même, ils auraient infailliblement réussi, et par là nous auraient evite les horreurs de la Disette dans la quelle nous nous sommes trouvés; ce qui joint aux horreurs d'une Guerre que nous avous aussi senties a porte le plus grand Decouragement dans ce Pais, et nous a empêche de pouvoir preudre aucun arrangement definite, principalment ceux d'entre nous, qui peuvent être dans le cas de passer dans la Partie Francaise on Espagnole. Nous avons en l'houneur de faire, à cette Occasion, nos justes Representations à Mr. Sterling, Delai de neuf Mois, pour attendre que les Commercans Anglais etaut arrivás, et la Confiance reablie avec le Commerce, ceux d'entre nous qui voudrout quitter, puissent tirer Partio de leurs Biens fonds et Maisons Comme il nà pas cru pouvoir prendre sur lui d'accorder que jusqu an Mois de Mars proclaim, il nous a promis d'appuyer auprés de Votre Excellence la justice de notre, Cause, a insi que l'Impossibilite de rien vendre dans le Moment present. L'entiere Confiance que nous avons en Sa Parole, nous borne à reméttre seulement sous vos veux, que Personne n'a pu prendre des arrangements antèrieurs à l'arriver des Troupes Anglaises dans ce Pais, que nous etions tous les jours préts l'abandonner, par les Violences des Savages enhardis par Notre petit Nombre. Votre Pénétration vous fera Connaitre qu'ils sout encore dans l'Impossibilitié d'en prendre ancuns, puisqu'il n'ya ni Monde pour acheter, ni Argent; ce que nous fait vous prier, Monsieur, qu'il plaise à Votre Excellence accorder à ceux d'entre nous qui vondraient se retirer, un dèlar de Neuf Mois, à Compter de ce Jour; ce dout nous vous répondous, ils conserverout une eternelle Reconnaissance, ainsi que nous répondous de la Fidelité re ceux qui demenreuont sous la Domination de S. M. B.

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*Public Record office, America and West Indies, Vol. 122. Transcript also in the Bancroft Collection, Lenox Library.

qui vous cupplient voulior leur envoyer des Prêtes Romains du Canada, et tous d'un Comman Accord, avons, l'Houneur de nous dire avec Respect.

De Votre Excellence
Monsieur
Les très Humbles
& très obeissans
Serviteurs.

Les Habitans des Illinois. Rocheblau.*

La Grange, Gavobert, Plasi. Du Lude. Chaseville. Carrà. H. Brazaux, Gaudoüin. J. Batiste Beauvais. Bloüin. Sessier d'et la Vigne. Mere Pilette. Batiste Myot, Jacques Billerout, Hubert Llu Ru. De Girado. Aubuchon fils. Calamanderie. J. M. Mercier. Lonné Le Janis. La Chaussée. J. La Lource. Fr. Ricard.

(Indorsed.)

Memorial of the Inhabitants in the Illinois.
In Majr Genl Gage's, of the 16th Janry 1766, praying a delay of nine months for the removing their effects.
Inclosure 4 in No. 3.

TRANSLATION.

To His Excellency Thomas Gage, Governor General of North America, Colonel of the Twenty-Second Regiment of the blue flag?

Sir—Mr. Stirling has doubtless informed you that he has taken possession of this country without any difficulty, and we can boldly advance the opinion that, if those who attempted to do it before him, had gone about it in the same way, they would have succeeded without chance of failure; and thereby we should have escaped the horrors of privation, which we have experienced. This, joined to the horrors of a war which we have also felt, has brought the greatest discouragement into this country, and has prevented us from being able to make any definitive arrangement, particularly those of us who might be able to pass to the French or Spanish side. We have had the honor of making, on this account, our just representations to Mr. Stirling for a delay of nine months in order to wait until the English Merchants have arrived, and so that when confidence in commerce is reestablished, those of us who wish to leave, can get a profit from this land and houses. Since he did not believe that he could assume the responsibility of granting longer than until the month of next March, he has promised to uphold the justice of our cause to Your Excellency and point out the impossibility of selling anything at the present moment. The entire confidence we have in his word limits us to bringing to your notice only that no person has been able to make any arrangements previous to the arrival of the English troops into this country, which we were ready to abandon any day on account of the acts of violence committed by the savages who were emboldened by our small number.

*Names are transcribed as in the copy in the public record office. These are all in the same handwriting.

Your penetration will make you understand that they are still without the Means of making any preparations, since there is neither anyone to buy nor money. This causes us to pray, sir, that Your Excellency will be pleased to accord those of us, who wish to withdraw, a delay of nine months counting from this day. We will be accountable to you for this that they will preserve an eternal gratitude, and we will also be responsible for the fidelity of those who will remain under the domination of His Britannic Majesty, and these latter pray you to send them Roman priests from Canada; and all with common accord have the honor of calling ourselves with respect for Your Excellency, sir, the very humble and very obedient servants, the Inhabitants of Illinois. [Signatures and endorsements above.]

LETTERS TO GUSTAV KOERNER, 1837-1863.

Of the German-American leaders in Illinois politics none deserves more general recognition than Gustav Koerner. Coming to Illinois in 1833 as a result of the revolutionary uprising in Frankfort, he never lost his affection for his fatherland. Yet he was equally loyal in the service of his adopted country. He insisted always that it was the duty of the German-American to work with his neighbors for the promotion of sound ideals in politics and higher standards of civilization. This attitude won him the respect of the community in which he lived and he held a series of important public appointments. He was successively a member of the legislature, judge of the State Supreme Court, lieutenant governor, and United States minister to Spain.

During his long public career he gained a wide acquaintance among the public men of his time in Illinois and elsewhere. He was an active correspondent and left to his family an interesting collection of letters, some in English and some in German, written by many of his most prominent contemporaries. Through the courtesy of his daughters, Mrs. R. E. Rombauer of St. Louis and Mrs. Henry Engelmann of Lakewood, Ohio, I have been able to present for the annual volume of the transactions a few of the letters written to Koerner in English. The copies were carefully prepared for this purpose by his grand-daughter, Miss Bertha E. Rombauer, of St. Louis.

Brief accounts of Koerner's life may be found in Ratterman, Gustav Koerner, Ein Lebensbild; in the Illinois Historical Society's Transactions, 1904 (article by R. E. Rombauer); in Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, April, 1907, (article by E. B. Greene); also in Koerner's Deutsche Element, Chicago, 1884. Koerner's autobiography, which contains much matter of great interest, still remains unpublished.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, 29th August, 1837.

Dear Sir

I reached here on day before yesterday evening and found your letter for which I am much obliged to you, there have arrived about forty or fifty members,. Mr. Polk the former Speaker and Mr. Bell are here, both wish to be elected—the contest will be a close one, but I believe Mr. Polk will succeed, there is no certainty about what we are convened for, the impression prevails that no other business will be taken up but merely providing means to defray the

expenses of the Government until the money in the deposit banks can be reached by some permanent measures adopted by the general session, should this view be correct Congress will probably not sit more than six weeks and adjourn until the general session.

On the subject of the sale of land to Mr. Hilgard I am perfectly willing to sell the quantity and in the manner that he wishes it and have written by this mail to General Semple to call and see you and make the bargain. I will send a deed as soon as the land is surveyed and I can have a description.

I am much astonished at John Eckart, but a few days before I left home he called at my house, and asked me if I would as soon rescind the contract I made with him for the land. I told him I would, he said he would rather and he would pay me what he owed me, but had not the money with him, I told him that would make no odds another time would do as well, I am willing now and at all times to perform my contract if he wishes it, and *pay him* the moment he makes a *title,* but he is certainly a very strange man, he most unqualifiedly rescinded the contract with me, please tell to him I am ready to perform when he gives title to the land the deed from C..... is not good as you will perceive by reading it.

Please sell Mr. Martin the lot he wishes at $3 per acre, interest 12 per cent until paid, if he can pay one-third down I should prefer it, but sell to him at the price even should he pay none down, but pay interest.

I have this moment called on to see* Blow & Rives the editors of the Globe, send me two numbers of the German Paper, I will enclose one to the editor of the Pennsylvanian and will convey one to the Globe office & effect if possible the exchange.

There are here for me upwards of forty letters, most of them on subjects connected with my representative duties and it will occupy all this week to attend to them, I will try and write you frequently and fully, and in the meantime you will always confer a favor by writing me often.

My health is somewhat impaired, I have some hopes it will gradually get better, I assure you from the business pouring in on me it is much needed.

May you enjoy health and all the blessings of life is the fervent wish of your sincere friend.

A. W. Snyder.

Washington City, Sept. 25, 1837.

Dear Sir—I received yours of the 16th enclosing the certificate of Jno. Hous which I will send to the office of the Secretary of State on tomorrow and so soon as it is prepared I will send it to Mr. Hous.

I am much delighted to hear of your success at the bar, may it always attend you, is my sincere wish. You did not tell me what was done with my attachment case (at Kaskaskia) against Dr. Hogg, will you please inform me in your next. I wish also you would promote

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*Probably *Blair* and Rives.

the petition of the people of Tamaroa for a post office at that place and please see that the State road is opened, through the bottom across the Kaskaskia river. I received a letter from Rittenhouse who says Tamaroa is getting along very well, that Shutz & Thompson are doing very well with the steam saw mill. I regret much that Gen. Semple did not make a contract with Mr. Hilgard, it is desirable such a man as him should be interested in the place.

Jno. Braun's draft was protested and I had to pay it here. Will you please to learn whether he is in that part of the country, if so whether he intends to take the land he purchased, he having failed to meet his purchase, I suppose he does or cannot comply, if so I should be glad to know it. What course is the editor of the Representative going to pursue?? Is the press under the control of Jno. Reynolds?? Is it not the avowed object to promote the political prospects of Reynolds either to advance his claims to congress or to the Gubernatorial chair?? Will you ascertain. Has Fleming recommenced printing or can he, is it worth while to aid him, or would it be better to buy up the Representative, if it can be bought.*

The bill proposing to withhold the fourth installment from the states is still under discussion. I am of the opinion it cannot pass.

The bill to authorize 10 million of treasury warrants will pass, a resolution is before the house declaring it *inexpedient* to charter a bank of the U. States. I shall vote for it. I never will unless instructed vote for a bank of the United States, at least [word covered by seal, probably *such*] a Bank as the former was.

I begin to doubt whether we shall adjourn at all before the General session commences. My health is not as good as it has been. I have been enabled by a most desperate effort of self control to discontinue the use of tobacco for the last two weeks.

What are the charges made against Mr. Mitchell, does he still neglect the office, is it badly attended to? If so, how?

My regards to all our friends.

A. W. Snyder.

City of Washington,
Oct. 18th, 1837.

Dear Sir

Yours of the 7th inst I received today. Am pleased to hear you and your family are well. My own health is as usual, *middling*. We adjourned on yesterday about 10 o'clock. The subtreasury scheme was laid on the table by a vote of 120 to 107. I voted in the majority believing it better that some expression should be obtained from the people and if it is to be adopted no injury can result from its suspension until December. I do not like to believe that it will ever be adopted, time however will prove all, was it in the power of Congress to restrain Banking in the States the policy of the measure would be

*Some personal remarks relating to another individual are here omitted by request of the family.

GUSTAVUS KÖERNER.

Yours respectfully
A. V. Snyder.

apparent, so long as that is the case, it would be attended with difficult and unpleasant circumstances, the Government exacting one kind of money while the people would be constrained to use another, in Illinois where the Government received much money but never disburses any the effect would be injurious. You know I do not like Banking or Banks, true we are in the midst of the evil, the true course is to apply gentle and restorative remedys.

The passage of the bill extending time to merchants, postponing the fourth installment to the states, giving time to the deposit banks to pay together with the issuing of 10 millions of Treasury warrants has already caused business to increase its activity.

I am glad that my course pleased my friends, you know my independence of thinking, and although I may have differed in some votes with the administration rest assured my aim is to give it a fair full and firm support throughout. All my feelings, all my hopes and all my desires are concentrated in these democratic principles that I was taught from infancy, but there is a time that we should pause before we take hold of party extremes.

You have I suppose seen announced the appointment of General Semple as chargé des affaires to Bogota in New Granada, I do not know whether he will accept or not he was not an applicant. I found the office was vacant and concluded to ask for it for some friend, the idea struck me it would suit Semple. The delegation from my state all united and he was confirmed without a dissenting vote in the Senate. You may rest assured that it is a matter of pride to me to have succeeded & whether Semple accepts or not it must be a source of gratification to him and his friends.

I do not believe that a convention can be got up at Kaskaskia. The truth is that the people composing my congressional district have never been used to that mode of bringing out candidates, it will not take, none but northern & eastern politicians pursue that course, for myself I have no doubt of its correctness, it is indeed the only mode by which you can test party strength. If my health continues to improve I would probably desire reelection if it does not I would decline it. I can only determine that during the winter.

I will learn who is a proper person for you to communicate with in relation to the claim of land for Doctor Bunsen's heir. There were here during the session Mr. Hunt the minister & Mr. ——— a member of the Texian Congress, they will both be here in December. Suppose you write a letter of inquiry leaving the address blank and enclose it in an envelope to me, I will address it, and send you the reply, do this fearful that I may forget it.

The account you give of Tamaroa is very flattering. I have no doubt but that it must succeed. The petition for a post office is addressed to the Post Master General, inclose it to me, it will require but a few signatures. Suppose you have Million named in it, he was the first that went there is an honest man, and of our side in politicks, do as you choose however about it I only suggest that, the Route is already established and will soon be contracted for. The object is to

have an office established at Tamaroa to insure it a point in the route from Belleville to Kaskaskia via of Preston which is about 12 or 14 miles south of Tamaroa on the east side of the Kaskaskia river.

Mr. Jno. Scott of Carlyle is now here and I was no little gratified to learn from him the people of his county were pleased with the manner in which you managed your law cases. I need not tell you that I take a deep interest in your success.

Congress adjourned yesterday I have been melancholy and despondent since every member almost leaving to see his family and his friends but myself. I on yesterday evening formed the desperate resolution of going to Illinois and starting today, but some fever last night and an increase of pain in my breast this morning brought me to my senses, and reconciles me better to my fate, in a few days I shall take a short tour of 8 or 10 days duration & then spend my time in the Library of Congress, which is a very splendid collection of books, I frequently think of you how you would enjoy it, had you leisure to continue in it, do not wait always to write me, only when you receive a letter from me, I am frequently so hurried that I cannot write you as often as I would wish, and it would gratify me to hear from you more frequently.

Your sincere friend,

A. W. Snyder.

Boston, Massachusetts,
Oct 26th 1837

Dear Sir

You will be surprised at learning that I am at this place in so advanced season of the fall, the truth is I well know that a more southern latitude would best suit my health, but an irresistible curiosity to visit New England caused me to take this trip. I landed at Providence in Rhode Island from there went to Worcester in a stage passing along the Valley of the Blackstone through one of the most interesting manufacturing districts of New England in one day I passed through nineteen manufacturing villages containing from one to two thousand inhabitants each, employing a capital of two hundred million of dollars, in cotton & woolen in each of these villages the tall church spire and the school house form conspicuous objects, the houses all painted and beautiful—neatly enclosed—on the whole forming a picture of neatness and comfort which probably cannot be equalled in any country.

You have no idea how much I am pleased with my visit. I have examined the intelligent labor saving machinery their untiring industry, their uniform happiness and comfort, it has done much to dispel the prejudices which I have heretofore indulged toward my Yankee countrymen.

Should the weather continue good I shall continue my tour through all New England. No man ought to attempt to legislate for all this republic unless he know all her interests, he cannot do this without personally seeing it.

I assure you notwithstanding all the peculiarities of this people all the ridicule exercised against them, I am proud to call myself their countryman.

Have you seen Bulwer's last work *Maltravers* it is dedicated to your countrymen the Germans, I have just read it, am not much pleased with it,—went last night to see Forrest the great American tragedian perform. Was much pleased, have seen Miss Clifford in Bianca and Miss Free in the Duchess de La Valliere a play written by Bulwer. They are all fine actors. Tomorrow I go to Lowell—the Leeds of America, next day to Nahant to see the sea. Today I shall visit the common schools, museum and lunatic asylum.

I hope to have the pleasure of finding on my return a letter from you as well as from my family. I think of returning to Washington in ten or twelve days. Please give my respects to Mr. Shields.

Your sincere friend,

A. W. Snyder.

Washington City, No. 13th, 1837.

Dear Sir

Your two letters of the 10th Oct and 1st Nov came to hand on yesterday two days after my return to this place from my trip to the north, and now for the business part first. Weirheim's deed is made out and signed and acknowledged, I must have by mistake left it in my private papers if you or Mr. Hay has not got it, the note of Wood and Co. given me by Rapier for Collection I certainly intended to hand you if I have not done so it is likewise with my private papers, and if insisted on you will examine my desk for the purpose, Rapier has got the amount, and the transfer of my receipt will be sufficient unless they wish to bring suit, in that event I suppose they must have it, my note to Isabella Lynn you will please pay out of my individual funds when collected, & for that purpose you will receive of Mr. Dawson on the enclosed $60.00 money that I have advanced to his brother at this place to enable him to move to Illinois, the other ten and interest please pay out of same collection, the reason why I say my individual funds, I wrote Semple that he could take what was collected in your hands.—of our Tamaroa Funds, please pay over to him all you may collect should he desire it.—I would very willingly have Mr. Hilgard interested in Tamaroa and for that purpose will sell one hundred and fifty acres at $8 per acre, 75 to be taken on the west and 75 on the south part adjoining the town time to pay with interest on the money, I feel certain I offer him a Bargain, Land will continue to rise in our County in my opinion, I have had B. Millim appointed P. M. at Tamaroa, the mail will be carried from Belleville to Kaskaskia via Tamaroa I presume, on 1st January Robt Morrison contractor, on the subject of the enquiries you make for Jos Beer I have answered him in a letter of yesterday—fin des affaires—allons pour le politique.

You seem to communicate to me, your objection to my course with hesitation—acquainted as I am with your sincerity of heart, and true

friendship for me, you certainly know me well enough to believe that any difference of political views could not in the slightest degree affect my friendship for you, the very sincerity with which you speak about it is an additional reason for my regard, and makes me more solicitous to retain your esteem—you do me but justice when you say I am sincere in the course I have adopted and conscientious, fear not that I have left my party or forsaken my principles, all my hopes all my fears and all my sympathies, are with the democratic party, they were principles imbibed by me in my infancy they have strengthened with my years and for the very short time destined for me to live I feel no disposition to change them, as well might you expect to hear of my taking poison as to hear of my embracing the principles advocated and avowed by the Leaders of the opposition. I do not know that I can in this letter explain to you the whole of the reasons which actuated me in my votes, should I fail to do so in this letter I shall either in speaking in my place should my health permit, or in another letter to you give all of them—suffice I voted against the issuing of Treasury notes because it was averred by many of my political friends in congress the object was to lay the basis of a treasury Bank, for which you know I have always expressed the utmost repugnance, the dangerous tendency of such an institution I need not point out—when I saw the party would carry the measure I voted for the interest on them in order to sustain their credit & that of the Government, I could not go with the party in the measure yet I threw as little impediment in their way as possible—I was willing to give it a fair trial, the circulation of them so far has not disappointed me, they are under par notwithstanding their bearing interest, for it is idle to say anything is at par that will not command gold or silver at its face, the vote for postponing the fourth installment to my state I could not make and represent the wishes & interests of my constituents, as you must know, our party had used every shift and device to apply the surplus revenue to fortifications on the seaboard rather than distribute it to the states immense sums were lavished on the seaboard to the most useless and extravagant objects, our State that like Egypt was to the Romans, collected for her public Lands millions had nothing disbursed in it, the money of her citizens was taken and applied in the Atlantic States towards objects useless in themselves & unworthy the patronage and attention of the Government, the state upon the expectation of its share had anticipated the sum by its Legislation, the disappointment would work confusion and injury to our system of internal improvement, there was in the Bank of Shawnectown & in the hands of the receivers of public monies in Illinois more than our quota of the amount, all the states were willing to take the amount due them in debts due from the Banks to the Government, there was no good reason that I could perceive why this was refused, for you perceive we postpone to the States first then issue treasury warrants then give time to the Banks.

I come now to the subtreasury bill, my vote upon which is the one that startles my friends, I had prepared in a speech to give my reasons for my vote, but owing to my bad health was prevented, you saw my vote on the Resolution declaring it inexpedient to charter a Bank of

the United States, I thought I perceived very plainly by the passage of that bill that it would insure the immediate creation of one, the States have built up local institutions for good or for evil, they exert their influence on the community I too well know, but when I was called upon to decide upon institutions of the States or one of the United States my mind was soon made up—I thought by aiding the State Banks to resume specie payment, the country would be relieved and the reform of banking monopolies and abuses should take place where it had its origin with the people. I thought I saw in the coming contest, a struggle between money and the Liberties of the people, and need I add that I feared by adopting the system of cutting loose at one abrupt move, the revenues of the government from all paper, that we were hastening the catastrophe—I was for adopting moderate measures to sustain my party in power, to get through this crisis, to enable us to adopt such measures as the most sanguine democrats could have wished, need I add that my worst fears are realized—by attempting to correct abruptly the evil we have increased its malignity. That kind of revulsion in politics has taken place that I fear is to end in the prostration of our party and in the consummation of that very measure that I, that you & all of our friends deprecate—flushed as the opposition now are with success. I have no doubt that many of the states will instruct their senators and that the opposition whenever it has the power, will urge on us this winter a plan to charter a Bank of the U States, and that we will again have to fight the battles over by laying the bill on the table time would be given to see its effects upon the people—to learn their feelings in regard to it—the Local Legislatures in the mean time would convene in most of the states & give to their representatives such instructions as the people desired, for myself I wanted none—but I felt anxious for my party for the principles I had long professed, I am now better satisfied than ever my course was right had the majority of the party here thought with me, we might have pursued such measures as in the end would have attained the object. I fear now that some years must roll round before we can succeed, the people must be yet more and more ridden, the Tyranny and influence of monied incorporations must be increased—these then will wake up to a proper sense of their peril and danger of losing their rights. The Jackson party in 1835 on a bill introduced by Bordon of Virginia proposing to disconnect the Government from all paper and Banks, immediately voted it down not a solitary friend of the administration voting for the measure, the increased power and patronage that the appointment and erection of so many receivers of Revenue would give was by the democratic party thought dangerous to liberty. I thought so to, what has now sanctified it? Principles should ever be the same. When my party recommended state banks I was then a member of the Legislature of my state; it was urged on me, that it was a party measure, I refused to give my assent to it, and again differed with the party, you may have noticed my votes in the bill proposing time to the Banks and releasing them from interest for their debts to the Government.

28 Nov. 1837—I voted against it. No man would go further to coerce them to hold their contracts inviolate than myself—as late as

July long after the suspension of all the Banks in the union the monies in the hands of the receivers of public monies in Illinois was deposited in the Bank of Missouri at a time that it could not have had in circulation one hundred dollars of its own paper, thus building up another state institution by the Government but a few days preceding the meeting of Congress, I mention all these things to you, for I would not wish them public—for the credit of my party—my course in relation to banks has been steady, it has never changed—would that my party had been equally so.—I shall give to the administration a uniform sound support in all measures that a sense of duty to myself and my constituents will permit me.

You seem to regret the appointment of Gen. Semple so far as it prevented the people from naming him for Governor, and testing the Banking principle. I urged his appointment because first he *desired* an appointment by the Government which I thought did not suit & because he expressed to me a willingness to rest from before the people, he did not apply for this office but for another, all this you are aware is *confidential.* I hope to hear from you frequently & will on some other occasion write you more fully,

Your sincere friend
A. W. Snyder.

December 13th 1837

W. City

My Dear Sir:

I received your very interesting letter a few days since as also the maps you had the goodness to send me for which I thank you. I should have written you sooner but I have been franking and addressing the president's message. I had a good many printed on my own account in order that they might be circulated throughout my whole district—it is an excellent paper must suit the views of the people of our state, it seems to me that it must meet with General approbation in all the States that have public domain in their territories.

He has again urged the propriety of the separation of the Government from the Local Incorporations of the States, firmly but mildly, the Message is such as to bring all our friends together. A compromise will take place which will meet the views of the democratic party in Congress, the administration is not as strong in the house as it was many of the New York members will not support the measure under any circumstances, the result of the New York Elections has confirmed them in their opposition to the measure. There is however some gain in South Carolina as you will perceive by the papers. The Virginia members who voted to lay the bill on the table Mr. Garland Patton & others will I think now come on to the compromise so that the strength in the whole will be enough by a small majority to carry the measure, as modified.

You say you were tempted almost to speak of the contents of my letter I am glad you did not, from the *unreserved* manner I communicate with you it would not always be prudent. I have been cautioned

against writing too frankly my views to you I knew it came from a political enemy and gave it that weight which it doubtless merited. I mention this to show you the pains that is sometimes taken to disturb the relations existing between men.

I have not yet seen the memorial. I mean the signatures. The copy I see in the Gazette, there is certainly nothing in it exceptionable, it is clear and undisguised. It will not be necessary. I think when all my votes shall be taken together there will not be much real cause of complaint, I think none by the democratic party, and they I am desirous of pleasing.

Reynolds speech as chairman of the meeting is a curiosity it is *non committal* and *non Such,* however I notice the Vandalia paper at the same time praising him as a warm advocate of the subtreasury scheme, and stated that it spoke advisedly. A part of it belongs to Reynolds, the editor Walters was foreman in Gales & Seeton's office here and was taken to Illinois by Reynolds & Dement, the latter you know was opposition candidate for speaker against Semple. You have doubtless by this time made a Governor. I suppose that Carlin will be nominated, be him whom he may I wish him success & hope he will beat Edwards, the opposition candidate.

How does poor Fleming do, I perceive that his *refulgent* sheet is again visible. Two presses in Belleville, I hope Fleming has appeared this time *"Melioribus auspiciis"* how would it do to assist him—the other press is evidently under the influence of Reynolds & is bound to oppose me, I remarked in it a dirty extract from the Vandalia paper censuring me for not coming home in the recess and seeing my *constituents.* Do you know I thought it unkind that such a paragraph should appear unanswered when it was known that bodily infirmity alone prevented me from seeing my family and friends. I can bear censure of my political course but I cannot bear to be charged with a want of respect and attention to my duty, or devotion to my constituents. The charge was unkind and unfeeling, all who know me know my devotion to my family and friends, know how it would gratify me to see them, more particularly under the circumstances that I left them. If God lets me live to get back to Illinois I shall be strongly tempted to punish the offender.

We shall certainly be able to procure the passage of a preemption law and I think be able to reduce the price of the refuse [?] Land a[ll?] such at least as has been in market a long time.

I am sorry to hear that the practice of the law is so dull at this time, I hope it will be better soon, it seems you are about having a branch of the State Bank of Illinois at Belleville. Who are to be its officers. I suppose that Mitchell will be cashier who president old man Harrison or Kinney.

I hope you will write me frequently, I am always happy to hear from you. I am with esteem your sincere friend and well wisher

A. W. Snyder.

Dear Sir

On my return from a tour in the country I have the gratification to receive a letter from you having date June 20 containing a suggestion in relation to the distribution of the 'Messenger of Liberty' among the German population in Fayette & Effingham counties. I thank you most kindly for the suggestion. It shall be immediately attended to. I will forward the names of some of the most prominent Germans in Effingham. Several numbers are *now* taken in this place, and as you say its effects are most miraculous.

I am never sanguine in my calculations of election results, but, unless some unlooked for revolution in the public mind, should in the mean time, take place, you may *certainly* calculate on the election of the entire democratic ticket in this District—Senator & all. Shelby will give a majority for V. B. of, at least 650. Bond will secure her representation in the House of Reps. Montgomery will stand as now. Contrary to all expectation, it is confidently asserted that Coles will elect Democrats. Clark will, almost certainly, do likewise. Both, heretofore, have sent Whigs.

I do conscientiously believe that the Democratic vote of Illinois will be increased—without reference to the increased population—at least 20 per ct. in the approaching presidential election.

The Springfield humbug has wrought, & is working wonders. I would not have stopped it, if I could have done it.

Thanking you most kindly for your note, I am Dr Sir

Yrs Most truly

W. L. D. Ewing.

July 8, 1840.

Camp at San Juan de Buena Vista, near Saltillo, Mexico, Jan'y 20, 1847.

Friend Koerner—

I have no doubt that you are generally kept pretty well appraised of our whereabouts and our doings; and I cannot therefore, in a brief letter, communicate anything of particular interest to you of which you have not already been advised. But as I am presented today with an opportunity of sending to New Orleans, I avail myself of the chance thus offered of starting a letter *towards* you—that it will reach its destination is by no means certain; nor will it be very material to you whether it does or not.

We are now encamped near Saltillo (4 miles from the town) and here, or in this vicinity, we have constantly been encamped since some days before Christmas. Besides Gen. Wool's Division there are also here two Indiana Regiments and one Kentucky Regiment—this last R'g't having arrived here two days ago by a forced march from Monterey to sustain us in an anticipated engagement with the enemy. We left Parras (a town of 8 or 10,000 inhabitants and situated about 130 miles West of this place) on the 17th of December, and came here by a forced, and, for Infantry, an extraordinary march. We had ex-

pected to remain at Parros till about the 1st Instant, and then to take up our march for San Luis Potosi by the way of Durango and Zacatecas—and so we should probably have done but for an express which reached us on the 17th ult from Gen. Worth, then at this place, calling upon us to come with all speed to his relief, as he had but 1,000 men and was in hourly expectation of an attack from a large body of the enemy. This interesting despatch from Gen. Worth was the cause of our sudden departure from Parros and our rapid march to this place. We reached here in less than four days from the time of getting Gen. Worth's despatch; but we have as yet had no battle nor do we now believe that we shall have one at this place. The enemy that was making toward Gen. Worth changed his direction South Eastwardly without coming to Saltillo—and although there are several detachments of the enemy within from 60 to 100 miles of us, and which seem to be in a constant state of *mobility,* yet they do not seem inclined to give us battle here, nor permit us to lessen the distance between them and us by any movements of ours. Almost ever since our arrival here, however, we have literally "dwelt in the midst of alarms"—often expecting at night that we should see the enemy the next morning—and at morning expecting his approach before night. You must remember that we have to rely in a great measure upon our *Mexican* spies for information. Sometimes they have no doubt deceived us *intentionally.* Sometimes they have mistaken small detachments of scouts or foragers near us for the *advance* of the enemy. For several days, and indeed, until yesterday we kept ourselves in a constant state of readiness, night and day. For several nights I slept, when I slept at all, with my garments all on even to my boots and spurs. Yesterday's information, however, and today's, seems to show pretty conclusively that the enemy which had made a *demonstration* here are moving off Southwardly intending to fall back upon San Luis Potosi, or perhaps to the coast to oppose Gen. Scott, who it is understood here is about to invade their country at Tampico or Vera Cruz or somewhere else in that quarter. As to our future movements we are in profound ignorance. Whether we shall be ordered to Vera Cruz or in that direction—whether we shall be compelled to remain here by way of occupation (which God forbid), or whether we shall go toward San Luis Potosi, we know not. We expect Gen. Taylor here in 3 or 4 days. And we rather suspect that when he comes we shall pretty soon receive orders to advance towards San Luis by the way of Durango and Zacatecas. In that case we shall retrace our steps to Parras. From that place to Durango is about 180 miles—from Durango to Zacatecas about 200; and from this last to San Luis about 80 miles. (Distance of places here is but *estimated*—accuracy is not attainable). It is known that at Durango and at Zacatecas preparations are being made to resist us. This is all we know or can even conjecture, plausibly, in regard to our future movements. Nothing can be more uncertain than all our movements—so that if they turn out entirely different from what I have suggested you need not be surprised.

The health of my regiment and of this whole command is good. Deaths, however, must and do occur among us occasionally. I do not at present think of anybody who has died here whom you would probably remember to have known.

The Illinois Volunteers are high in estimation here; and deservedly so. You would be surprised at their improvement and their present soldierly appearance. In the most trying and discouraging situations they have ever shown themselves to be everything which men could be. They have suffered much from hard marches and hard fare—but they have endured patiently and with the fortitude which becomes brave men and soldiers. They have never felt so well as when they have been in hourly expectation of meeting the enemy in deadly conflict—nor have they ever behaved more like *men* and *soldiers* than on such occasions.

Of the probable continuance of the war we can form no opinion, whatever. We are in total ignorance of everything passing at Washington, and especially so of the doings at Mexico. It is only four or five days since the President's message first made its appearance among us. This will show you how effectually we are cut off from all sources of information from the States.

Mexico, so far as we have seen it, is by no means an inviting country. High, *bare,* and rugged mountains, and dry, and (*consequently*) barren plains, constitute the leading features of the country everywhere. Not a foot of land is attempted to be cultivated which is not susceptible of irrigation. No rain has fallen since we entered Mexico, and we are told that *none is expected,* here, till May or June. Even those mountain streams which are the only sources of that fertilizing process, irrigation, are much fewer and smaller here than you would expect in so mountainous a country. As for *timber,* there is none in the country. You would be wholly at a loss to conceive how a country so completely destitute of timber could be inhabited. And yet the poor devils manage to get along in happy ignorance of their many, and, to us, manifest wants.

The climate is delightful in Mexico. We are now in Latitude 26—about the same as the Southern part of Florida. Occasionally the wind shifts suddenly into the N. E. producing what is called a *Norther.* At such times it is frequently, for a day, uncomfortably cold and we shiver and our teeth chatter at night and morning. With these trifling exceptions, the weather is uniformly delicious. From ten in the morning till 3 in the evening we seek the shade for comfort—and the nights are as cloudless, as genial and balmy as they are in Illinois in the month of May.

The Mexicans hereabouts are indolent and unintellectual. They know, generally, nothing about their government or the affairs of their country—nor do they care about either so that they are let alone. I speak, of course, of the mass. Santa Anna is disliked exceedingly in this part of the country.

All your friends here are getting along pretty well. Adolphus has sustained himself well, and honorably; and stands as fair among us as his friends could possibly desire. His health is excellent and he is at-

tentive and ambitious. Last night he had command of one of the guards—and I as Field Officer of the day had to visit him after midnight. I found him constantly at his post, and holding a tight rein over his men. He is entirely satisfied and delighted with his situation. Col. Morrison is also in good health, and has, I think, fully realized the expectations of his friends.

I trust that you have, ere this, been elected by the Legislature;—Though I have not heard a word from Springfield since the Legislature convened. Of your own election nobody can have entertained any doubt—nor of P—— I presume. T. H. Campbell is doubtless elected Auditor—I hope so at any rate. But who is treasurer? who Atty Gen'l? Who my successor? Who Senator? &c &c. Our anxiety to know these things amounts to *nervousness*. I have rec'd no letters from Illinois since we left San Antonio. I there rec'd one from you (the only one) which was answered from Monclova. I have not even heard a word of my little girls (one of which I left at New Orleans) for more than five months. It seems that letters addressed to us "*Care of Col. Hunt*" via New Orleans, post paid, ought to reach us in safety and yet we are constrained to think that many such must certainly have been lost.

I fear I shall not be able to return so as to commence the circuit with you in the Spring. I do, however, look with much pleasure to the time when I shall again find myself among my friends *upon the circuit*. It seems to me, now, that I shall hereafter delight more than ever in the practice of my profession—and determined am I to devote myself vigorously and exclusively to it when I return.

My health is excellent, I have not been sick since I left home, and was never more robust than now; and I have labored in my new vocation with, I believe, tolerable success—the pertinacious and rather unkind predictions of my friend Koerner to the contrary notwithstanding. Captain Raith's company, with some exceptions, has evidently felt it a duty to be blind to everything which did not quadrate with the previously expressed opinions, and directly promote the interest, of their *exclusive* and *very attentive* friend and former Captain. But let that pass, and be forgotten. We all get along very pleasantly, and so we shall continue to do. I should be glad to hear from you often. Should you write me from Belleville, please make inquiries, and tell me about the health of my little girl.

Gen Shields was with us at Monclova—but while there he was ordered to Tampico—and thither he went; since which I have not heard of him. He was very popular with all our officers and men. *Write to me*

Goodbye
W. H. Bissell.

Judge Koerner.

———

Springfield 18 Feby 1847

Dear Sir

I am glad to say: that the H of R* has done you and others justice. The vote to lay an amendment on the table to a Bill of Appropria-

tion was 47 for the table and 51 against it. The vote was again taken on the passage of the clause of $1500 to all the Judges and it stood thus 53 for and 43 agt it—passed.

This amendment only takes effect from its passage. It does not go back. Our friend Mr. Underwood was sick; and my other colleague voted against it. Mr. U. was not present and so did not vote. I am glad that the Legislature had the magnanimity to do justice to the Judges.

The balance you will see in the papers, and I will tell you when I have the pleasure to see you. Judge Denning had some capital.

Your friend
JOHN REYNOLDS.

JUDGE KOERNER

Judge Martin came in sick and voted.

PS I moved in the bill to strike out the names of all the Justices: so that we forced members to join all in. Linder made a good speech. I was short as it was that best.

WASHINGTON Feb 19th 1847

MY DEAR JUDGE:

Your favor was duly recd and I have delayed answering it, hoping I might be able to give you some definite intelligence in relation to the prospect of accomplishing your wishes in regard to young Engelmann. The President gives us only three companies out of the ten regiments to be raised. He had lots of applications and I found I could do nothing for him in organizing these Companies. A law will pass before we adjourn I think, authorizing the President to retain as many of the Volunteers now in the Service, as may wish to continue during the war. In this organization I think I can provide for Engelmann I will do all in my power to procure for him the post you name. We have had a *noisy, boisterous* Session & will leave a great deal of business unfinished. Will probably levy a *War* duty on Tea & Coffee &c & as a *revenue measure,* reduce the price of the public Lands. My labors have been such as to preclude me from writing my friends. When I see you I will give you a history of matters and things in general. I am in haste

Truly your friend & obt. Servt.
ROBERT SMITH.

HON. G. KOERNER.

CAMP AT BUENA VISTA, MEX., April 25, 1847.

FRIEND KOERNER.—

Our mail is just closing and I have but a few moments in which to write. I have just returned from town (our camp is 5 miles distant from it) where I went expressly to see Adolphus. He was severely wounded and has suffered severely in consequence. Indeed, he has

suffered a dozen deaths—but he is greatly improved within the last week. There is not the least doubt of his recovery—nor is there any reason to fear the loss of his arm, the joints of which he can move quite freely even now. He is much reduced, but he is in fine spirits, has a good appetite and is gaining strength every day.

We expect to start about 4 weeks from this time for home—but you need hardly expect to see us till the 10th or 15th July. We shall have no more fighting here. Adolphus will be able to accompany us home—and you may rest assured that I shall not come without him. He acted nobly upon the battle field. Col. Morrison has left us for home. He first went to Monterey for the benefit of the warm springs there (having the rheumatism) from thence he started for home as we have just learned. He got leave of absence from Gen. Taylor at Monterey. *He will tell you the news.*

This makes the 4th letter I have written you from Mexico—two of which were *very* long ones—and I have never received a line from you since leaving the U. States. Adolphus tells me that you say you have written to me. I have never got your letter. Wish I had. For I am as ignorant of everything which has transpired in Ill. as if I had been in the moon all this time. I have written several times to Mr. Kinney —and if he has taken the trouble to answer any of my letters, I am ignorant of it. I will not judge harshly, however, for I well know the difficulty and uncertainty of all communication between us. You cannot imagine how I long to be *on the circuit.*

Errors etc. etc. must be overlooked for I have been allowed but about one minute to write this scrawl.

Your friend
W. H. Bissell.

Judge Koerner,
Belleville.

Rock Springs, Ill. May 28th 1847.

Hon. G. Koerner, Dear Sir, I have been requested by the Committee of the Literary & Historical Society of Illinois to correspond with you with the view of ascertaining if your official & other duties will permit you to deliver the Annual Address to the Society on its anniversary, the *fourth Thursday* (22d) July at Upper Alton. It is the unanimous desire not only of the Committee, but of many members of the Society who have opportunity of consultation.

The Committee desire to leave to your choice & convenience the special topic, but we take the liberty respectfully to suggest that a discourse on some topic allied to *German* character, intellect or history would be very acceptable. Every fact & illustration that tends to remove prejudice, and furnish each class with more exact knowledge of each other's character, habits, modes of thought and history, will tend to cultivate brotherhood, good feelings and nationality.

Please give me an answer, (encouraging I hope) soon as convenient.

Yours respectfully
J. M. Peck, Cor. Secy.

Springfield June 18, 1847

Dear Sir:

Yesterday the convention settled by large majorities two important questions—one to authorize the Legislature to impose a capitation tax, the other laying a resolution providing for the insertion of a prohibitory clause in the constitution against Banks by a vote of 102 for to 59 agst.

You will see the vote in the paper which I send you. I am inclined to think that the Judges of the Supreme Court will be appointed by the Gov. the Circuit Judges elected by the people. Legislators reduced to 100 and the pay about $3.00

A thousand and one propositions have been introduced as amendments to the constitution.

The committees have commenced reporting. The Executive Committee reported this morning when it is printed I will send you one.

I am gratified to hear that Adolphus has got home, my best respects to him. Let me hear from you. Bunsen gets along well, & is highly respected by the members for his sound sense, and his manners are so original that he is quite popular.

Your fd
W. C. Kinney

Rock Springs Illinois, June 28th 1847

Hon. G. Koernfr, Dear Sir, I have been solicited to preach in the Baptist Church, Belleville, since the resignation of Mr. Boyerkin & have consented to preach there at least *next Sabbath, fourth of July,* at eleven o'clock A. M. & 3 o'clock P. M. My subject will be appropriate to the day—*Liberty, personal, political* and *religious*.. On the last item Baptists have differed essentially in their views, from most Christian Sects. I shall expound what I conceive to be the correct theory of Christianity on this point. Should you have no engagement, I should be gratified at your attendance.

Yours respectfully
J. M. Peck.

Carlyle Nov. 7, 1847

My Dear Judge

I had the pleasure to receive this morning your letter enclosing Chittenden's note & am obliged to you for your kind regrets that I could not be with you at the Court. Be assured that nothing would give me more pleasure & I had made all my calculations to that end, but as it was, I was too unwell to move out. I have not been well since the 12th of last August.

I am much pleased to hear that the counties you named are still friendly to me—they were strong for me before. I so hope I shall have no opposition from my political friends. I do not think there will be any very formidable unless it may be Niles & I should think he

would not be a candidate against me. I trust you and other good friends will look to the matter in McClain & Monroe. I depend on you for this. I hope you will write me often during the coming session. I shall take great pleasure in receiving and replying to your letters.

Have been in a week. I have sent the note of Chittenden to Senator Phelps of Vermont from whom I recd it.

Faithfully yrs

S. Breese

Hon. Judge Koerner.

St. Louis Aug. 4th 1851

Dear Sir

I tried to see you yesterday. On calling at the house they told me you were in the town and on coming there I could not find you. I have been desirous of getting the second volume of "Dix Ans." The style is good, the spirit sprightly, but it is terribly French. What a conceit! The Restoration a continuation of the Constituent Assembly. The rule of the Bourgeoisie. The Bourgeoisie is held chargable with the evils and errors of Louis 18, Charles 10, and Louis Philippe. This is the hypothesis. Upon this the work is constructed. It is puerile. Such a man to pretend to be a statesman. To commence by classifying men into Aristocracy, Bourgeoisie and people—and then to deal with them on the strength of this classification. Do get me some French work that has breadth as well as depth. I am getting very tired of the conceits and fancies of French writers. The election is proceeding. The Free Soil ticket it is said will be beat. Every thing is quiet. I go down the river and may not see you for a week or ten days. I enclose what I hope will answer your purpose for a pass. It is in the form of a letter of credit, you can draw upon me in favor of the man from whom you buy the pass.

Yours

Hon. G. Koerner
Belleville
Ill.

Jas. Shields

New York, Aug. 13, 1851.

Dear Judge:

I have been here some five or six days. Shall be required to remain here three or four days longer—then go to Washington—all on business of the R. R. Co.—so that it will be about the 20th before I can start for home. I am very anxious to return as speedily as possible; and I trust I shall be there as early as the 26th inst. After I left home, and before my arrival here the R. R. Co. had sent for me to come on here—so that my departure from home was opportune.

I was nearly two days in Chicago, Douglas was absent—so was Peck, and nearly every body else. They are very much divided there on the question of a candidate for Gov. Mattison has his friends, as

well as some enemies there. I staid but a part of one night at Springfield—conversed with Calhoun and Treat. They are opposed to Mattison. Whether that circumstance is to be regarded as indicative of a prevalent sentiment round about the capitol, you can judge as well as I. I did not anywhere let my own preferences be known.

You would be acceptable everywhere, so far as I can judge, as a candidate for Lieut—and so I hope it may turn out.

Douglas has been pushed too fast, just exactly as we anticipated. I wish he were back right where he was six months ago. It would then be much easier to nominate him. There is already a regularly organized opposition to him; and with some men it is even bitter. The danger just now is from Buchanan's friends. If the free-soilers of this state will strike for Douglas *at the right time,* they can secure his nomination and his election and there is no other party or set of men in the Union can do the same. I am on good and intimate terms with Dix, John Van—— and others of the *Eve. Post.* And I think I shall have the satisfaction of effecting some good for Douglas in that quarter before the convention sits. I cannot help but remark however that his ridiculous R. R. letter, all uncalled for and unnecessary, and designed solely to increase his importance *in Chicago* has injured him here in the estimation of every one who has taken the trouble to read his letter—I should rather say his *stump speech* for it is nothing else; and hardly creditable to *his* intellect even at that. He must give up meddling in little petty local matters if he wants to be considered a sufficiently large man for President. He ought to be above grocery stump speeches now.

If you meet my little girls tell them you have heard from me.

Yours ever

W. H. Bissell

Hon. G. Koerner.

Joliet, Nov. 5th 1851.

Judge Koerner

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty to address you, relative to political matters, in our state, and shall do so freely.

In regard to the Presidency, I presume all are for Douglas throughout the state; and from present indications, he will certainly be the nominee of the democratic party, of course will be elected.

I desire your views upon the subject of Governor, and Lieut. Governor. In this section of the state, we are all for Mattison of this place for Governor. We think the North is entitled to the nominee, and Mattison is our preference. He is a decided, and thorough going democrat, and will make an efficient and energetic executive. We hope that St. Clair will be for him in convention.

I have heard your name mentioned in connection with the nomination for Lieut. Governor, and so far as I am informed, your nomination would meet the hearty approbation of the democracy of the north. If you desire the nomination, my services are at your command, and I

think I am warranted in saying, that the democracy of this county and vicinity, will give you their cheerful support.

Col. Bliss wrote to me not long since, and suggested your name in connection with the nomination, and in reply I informed him, that your claim would receive a favorable consideration. Write to me, and write fully on all subjects.

From present indications I fear the Bank bill has been adopted by the people. The northern counties appear to have gone for the bill. Let me hear from you, and excuse this brief epistle.

Your friend
J. McRoberts

Washington Dec. 1st 1851

Dear Koerner

This is the day which opens the great national debating club. Senators and members are nearly all here. Boyd Ky nominated Speaker. Forney of the Penn'a Clerk—there may be some trouble in the election but I think not. The attempt to make the Compromize the basis of the Democratic creed failed as it ought. The movement was Foote's who is here. He is always in some fidget about great movements and never doing any good. Kossuth will receive a national reception. Foote means to introduce a resolution into the Senate today for that purpose. Foote says the Whigs will make capital out of Kossuth unless the Democrats make a great display. This is the feeling here. Kossuth is valued by Filmore Webster Foote and such for the amount of political capital he brings. I have just got an invitation to the dinner to Kossuth at New York. I think I will go. Genl Scott will be the Whig can'te and God knows who the Dem. The bank has paper and we will be able I fear to borrow no money—so much for State management.

Yours
Jas. Shields.

Hon. Gust. Koerner

Joliet Dec. 6th 1851.

Hon. G. P. Koerner

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 23d has been duly received, and its contents carefully read. I admire the candor with which you write, & the zeal manifested for the cause of democracy.

I fully concur with you in the opinion, that the adoption of the Bank Law, will have quite an influence in controlling the action of leading democrats, in different Sections of the State. But I trust it will create no disaffection in our ranks, when it is apparent from the vote in the aggregate, that not half of the strength of our party was brought out

against it. Its adoption at the present crisis is to be regretted; but as it is now fastened upon us, one must endeavor to get along with it, and correct the evil at the earliest period.

I infer from the tenor of your letter, that some apprehensions are entertained in your section, as to Col. Mattison's feelings and views on the Bank question. It is true that he voted for the passage of the bill in the Senate; but like many other Democratic members of both houses, he did so by special instruction of his constituents. At the polls, however, Col. Mattison voted against the Bill, and so did all his particular friends in this vicinity. This I vouch for, as I know the fact; and this town was the only one in the county that gave a majority against the bill.

In this northern part of the state, the party was about equally divided, for and against the bill. Some of our leading Democrats in this Section, have their own peculiar views on the subject of Banks; and deny that the question is at all involved in the political faith of the party. Such being the Sentiment of many who have an extensive influence, it is not strange, that the bill received a strong support. You know that abolitionism, freesoilism, and other foolish issues have been made in this northern region in our party; & which have so obliterated many of the ancient land marks, of the party, that any political result in districts which were formerly, and are still democratic, is now at times quite uncertain.

When the democracy of Southern Illinois fully understand Col. Mattison's position, they will find him right on all questions of State, and party policy. He was among the few, in this part of the State, who during the free soil excitement, stood firm and unmoved, and who assisted in meeting and successfully turning back the tide of fanaticism which for a time threatened to engulf all before it. At the last session he would have voted against the Blank Bill, had he not been directly instructed by a large majority of the democrats of his district to go for it. This was the case with other sterling democrats, such as Reddick Randal and others from the north. Owing to the diversity of opinion among the democrats of the Northern Counties, Mattison has pursued a mild course, as it would not have been policy for him to take an active part on questions about which scores of his friends differed essentially. In this I think he was right, especially when an active part either way would affect his prospects for the nomination. If he is the democratic candidate, he desires to be free, at least during the canvass, from the censure of any part of the democratic party. He is the choice of the north, and we desire the South to unite with us, in giving him a warm support. He has at all times labored to keep down any feeling of jealousy between the northern and southern parts of the State; and because of his conciliatory course, many in the north have charged him with fraternizing with the South, and being opposed to the north.

On the subject of Lieut. Gov. the friends of Col. Mattison will I have no doubt support you cheerfully, should you consent to place your name before the convention. If the Governor is taken from the north, the Lieut. Gov. should come from the South.

Remember me to Niles, Kinney, Gov. Reynolds, Judge Underwood, Abend, Fouk and others. Let me hear from you when you are at leisure.

Your friend,
J. McRoberts.

Wilmington, No. Ca., June 14, 1856.

Sir.

Although not personally acquainted with you I have known your name in honorable connection with events which transpired over 20 years ago and from this indirect acquaintance I claim the right of addressing you.

As an adopted citizen of this country I ever looked upon you with pride; I looked upon you as a true exponent of the adopted citizens true and faithful to their country her constitution & her laws.

So much the more I was surprised to find the annexed lines which I cut out of the organ of the Know Nothing faction in this city. They were inserted in the same undoubtedly with the object of suspicioning the devotion of the adopted citizens residing in this city to this country, and thus make political capital with every true patriot and particularly with every Southerner be he a Democrat, Whig, Know-Nothing or anything else.

Being convinced what means these Know-Nothing Organizations sometimes employ to reach their object and having had many opportunities to see the liberty of the press soiled by publishing falsehoods and lies, I felt compelled to doubt the veracity of the statement made concerning you and therefore herewith take the liberty to ask yourself whether I am right to disbelieve the assertion made (viz: in the annexed scrip) or whether you recognize the right of the people to make their laws to suit them & exclude or introduce slavery from their territory.

Hoping that I was right in doubting the veracity of the assertion made in our K. N. organ and that your views on the Kansas & Nebraska Bill are in conformity with the resolutions passed thereon at the late National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati I shall consider it a *great favor to receive information from you to that effect* and your permission to publish the same if circumstances during our local canvass should require it.

With my best wishes for yourself I remain

Your obt. servt.
Gustavus Isaac.

Hon. Lieut. Gov.
Gustavus Koerner.

Rock Island. Ill., October 3d. 1856.

Hon. G. Koerner
Dear Sir

A mass meeting of the Republicans of Rock Island and surrounding counties is to be holden at this city on *Thursday* the 16th inst, and from assurances already received a very full attendance may be relied upon.

The undersigned have been appointed a committee to procure speakers for that occasion, and as such they desire not only to extend to you our invitation to be present as one of the speakers but also to communicate to you the very general desire that exists among *our citizens* that you should speak to them upon the questions of the day. It is *their desire* to hear from yourself and some others of the distinguished citizens of our own state, upon whose counsels they have been accustomed to rely, and in whose lead they have been proud to follow. We trust that you may find it convenient to gratify your friends here in their wish to meet with you on the 16th. Will you do us the favor to communicate to Col. Bissell our cordial invitation that he should be present, and to press upon him its acceptance. His presence here will do very great good, as well as gladden the hearts of thousands of his friends. Please let us hear from you at your earliest convenience, and believe us Dr Sir

Very truly your friends
George Mixter,
George W. Pleasants,
Quincy McNeil,
Committee.

For Heavens sake Governor dont disappoint us. We are to have a great time, & to its greatness your are *bound* to contribute.

Not only have you many very warm personal friends here among the *Yankees*, but there are many most excellent Germans voters in our city & in Davenport, who will be greviously disappointed if they fail of having you and Fred Hecker on the 16th. Make Hecker come.

The glorious work goes bravely on. It is the Lord's work & will, & all hell, with Dug. thrown in cant stop it.

I have been on the stump elsewhere for many weeks, and now have a right to *claim* the best help here.

Dont fail to answer, nor to make that answer YES.

Ever & most truly your friend
Jos. Knox.

ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

State At Large.

N. B. Judd. Chicago Chairman — Ebenezer Peck, Chicago
Wm. H. Brown, Chicago, Treasurer — Julian S. Rumsey, Chicago
Gustavus Koerner, Belleville

Districts.

1	Cornelius Lansing, Marengo	5	Wm. A. Grimshaw, Pittsfield
2	Calvin Truesdale, Rock Island	6	M. H. Cassell, Jacksonville
3	David Davis, Bloomington	7	T. A. Marshall, Charleston
4	Chas. B. Lawrence, Prairie City	8	Willard C. Flagg, Moro
		9	John T. Jones, Shawneetown

Horace White, Chicago,
Secretary.

Committee Rooms

151 Randolph St., Chicago, Nov. 24, 1860.

Hon. G. Koerner, Belleville, Ill.

Dear Sir:

Will you please fill up the enclosed blank with the returns of St. Clair Co *by precincts;* or, if the vote of the county has been published in this form in your local paper, will you please cut it out and send it to Mr. Judd. We are making up the vote of the entire state by precincts for future use. We have received the vote of Monroe County in this form.

While we regarded your Senatorial District the safest in the State of the five doubtful ones *before the election,* it is the general opinion now, in view of the enormous increase of the Democratic vote in the Southern counties, & the abominable frauds perpertrated by them in the river precincts, that you made a remarkably good fight. "It's all well that ends well," and I'm sure the Democracy of Illinois feel a thousand times worse, in view of the general result, than any of us *can.*

Very respectfully &c

Horace White,
Secretary.

Belleville, Ill., May 4th, 1863.

Hon. G. Koerner,

Dear Sir,

I was pleased to receive your favor of 23 March. The letter to my brother I forwarded to Springfield where he has been for some four weeks. His two youngest children have been very sick—are now commencing to get better. Our troubles are being too prolonged. I presume you find your position more embarrassing and unpleasant that it would be in a time of peace. We have not obtained such decided victories as I had hoped, we would have done before this. The news we are now getting from Gen. Hooker's army is very encouraging. I should think the rebels at Vicksburg would find it difficult to get supplies. I regret that Lincoln did not change his cabinet. The actions of our people in this country have undergone I think but little change since you left. But few of the American Democrats are to be relied upon when it comes to the matter of voting. I think the German Democrats, who are for the Union, are more to be relied upon. The prejudice of some people seems much stronger than their love of country. The result of our city elections was very gratifying.

Jehu Baker has been engaged for months in getting up a speech which he has delivered at Springfield, Bloomington & Belleville, and has just had it printed. It is a good speech. Judge Underwood is still making specches at Nashville, Chester, &c with a little Union and a good deal of the Copperhead. He has not undertaken to make a Union speech here since his return from Springfield. I think all Union men lost confidence in him last winter.

Considerable property has changed hands lately Gen. B. Short sold his farm at $50 per acre and has moved to Macon County. John Ruddock has sold his place and bought in Macon County. J. Miller sold his 100 acres near West Belleville for $10,000. The Thomson Coal Mines 80 acres were sold the other day for $16,000. Robt. G. Afflick has sold his farm for $15,000. Money is plenty. As to law business, it has fallen off one half—Your old cases have been mostly disposed of. The Reichert cases will be tried next winter. We beat Baker in them last fall. The Breiner case, owing to the death of Mrs. B. has not yet come on for trial. Judge Underwood assisted me in the G——— case but we lost it. I never had as much confidence in the case as you had. Baker has not yet got ready to take up the V—— case. It only involves a matter of costs. In a few of the old cases of partition, the parties neglect to attend to them and they remain on the docket. I did not hear as much complaint of Judge Gillespie at the last term of court. J. B. Underwood is not improving any in his habits, the temptations at Springfield are too great for him.

Col. Jarrot was in town a few days ago, looking as well as ever. I am glad the St. John suit is settled. I did not succeed in getting Gillespie to make a decision on the exceptions to the answer of Miss St. John. Should be pleased to hear from you often.

Truly yours

G. Trumbull.

LETTERS FROM OGLE AND CARROL COUNTIES, 1838-1857.

Copies of these letters are printed in the *Transactions* through the courtesy of Mr. J. W. Clinton of Polo, who contributed the following explanatory note:

The following letters written from Ogle and Carroll counties between 1838 and 1857 came into the possession of the Polo Historical Society in January, 1905. The letters were written to David Ports, a cooper, who resided at the time in Washington county, Maryland. The letters were preserved by him and brought to Carroll county many years later. At his death they fell into the hands of his son, Otho J. Ports, now a resident of Hazelhurst, Illinois. From him they passed into the possession of the Polo Historical Society as stated above.

The letters throw considerable light on the modes of travel from the east to the west as well as the conditions of the country seventy years ago. In those days there were three routes of travel from New York state, Pennsylvania and Maryland to Northern Illinois: By boat on the Great Lakes to Chicago; by wagon trains across the intervening states of Ohio and Indiana, and by steam boat from Pittsburg down the Ohio, up the Mississippi and then up the Illinois to Peoria or Peru and thence overland or up the Mississippi to Fulton or Savanna and thence across country to eastern Carroll or Ogle counties.

The first settlement made in Ogle county was made at Buffalo Grove, near Polo, between Christmas, 1829 and early in January, 1830, by Isaac Chambers, a Virginian, who came to the country by way of Springfield and Peoria, and John Ankney, a Pennsylvanian, who probably came by the Ohio and Mississippi to Galena.

Samuel Reed and Oliver W. Kellogg from New York state probably came overland. Kellogg came to Illinois in the twenties and before settling in Ogle county had lived for a short period in Galena and at Kellogg's Grove in Stephenson county. Reed had followed his father west stopping on the way in Ohio a year or more. Both Reed and Kellogg arrived at Buffalo Grove in April, 1831, and might perhaps be said to be the first permanent settlers in Buffalo Grove, as Ankney moved to Elkhorn Grove after the Black Hawk war of 1832 and Kellogg bought Chambers' claim in April 1831.

In those pioneer days in the Rock River Valley letters played an important part in the settlement of the country and no doubt such letters as Smith's and Wallace's brought many settlers from Maryland and New York to Ogle county.

To illustrate: Samuel Reed, Sr., came from New York to Peoria county in the twenties. His son, Samuel, came to his place in the early spring of 1831 and thence north to Ogle and Carroll counties in search of a better and healthier location. Buffalo Grove seemed to offer all that he demanded. He was soon followed by a brother-in-law, Cyranus Sanford and he by his sons, all from Delaware county, New York. In '34 and '35 others from Delaware county followed. In 1835 John Waterbury and Solomon Shaver came from the same county to view the country and the next year they with a company of sixty-nine others, all from Delaware county, came to Buffalo Grove as settlers. In the settlement of Mt. Morris, about the same course of events occurred. In the summer of 1836 Samuel M. Hitt and Nathaniel Swingley, from Washington Co., Maryland, arrived in Ogle county at what is now Mt. Morris. They were pleased with the country and in the autumn returned home and the next year the Maryland colony landed at Mt. Morris. In subsequent years the communications thus established brought many setllers from Delaware Co., New York, and from Washington county, Maryland. So true is this that today the Marylanders and their descendants are far more numerous in Ogle and Carroll counties than the settlers from any other single state.

The copies here printed were taken and compared with the originals by Evangeline Holmes.

(Postmarked) Savanna, Ill. (Postage) 25c.
May the 27th, 1838.

Mr. David Portz,
Boonsboro, Washington Co., Md.

Dear brother we now take up our pen to discharge a duty incumbant on us so long which we would have done sooner, but we wished to get settled before writing, so as to give as much information as possible We shipped on bord the Paul Jones at Wheeling on the 5th of Aprile, reshiped on bord the North Star at Cincinnati on the 11th, and arived hear on the 20th, all in a tollerable good state of health except the diorhea which we all had except Henry who was mutch better all the way on water than we had any reason to espect.

Father sent his horses on land the horse gave out on the road and was left to die and the mare strade off after she arived heare; he got a comfortable frame house on landing at $10.00 per month and I have got now a house at $4 per month. Father has bought a lot in town at $50 with a good spring on it which will be not exceeding 20 feet from his door, with the intention of following his business.

But the most meloncolly part of the story is yet untold. Henry departed this life yesterday about 3 o'clock P. M. in one of his old spells which he had hundreds of time but it was evident that the Good providence determend that this should be his last, from the fact that all means which was in our power to use for his recovery prooved inafectual. During the whole of the journey he was well and stood the

journey as well as any of us; about ten days after we arrived here he was taken sick though not as bad to all appearance as he was many times before, he bore his affliction with unuseual patience, never freted about his former home or absent friends, and died without a struggle or a grone. We can safely say that he sufered for nothing eather food or medicine, calculated to sustain life or cure disease which prooved to us more forseable than ever that when death comes it defiies all human means.

Its but justice to say that our neibuers ware as kinde and rendered all the assistance that they could. The affliction is great but we try, and we wish you to try to be reconciled from the consideration that he has exchanged a state of suffering for a state of rest. Thanks be to the God of heaven that we are all in the posesion of good health except Mother is poorly in consequence of waiting on a young woman who died today about 8 o'clock A. M. with the small pox. No other case is known as yet in town.

Our town is a flurishing little village the most easterly bend on the great Mississippi with a good landing for steam boats, two State roads running through it one from Galena to Chicago and the other from this place to Peoria on the Ills. river and a railroad laid out running through the town from Galena 30 miles above us on fever river to Chicago on Lake Michigan, 20 m above us are about being let out to be compleated the current year which makes this place a very eligible point for all kinds of business.

It is my desided opinion that if you would come here with a good set of tools you might do a great deal better here than you ever can expect to do in Md. we would all rejoice to see you and your family comfortably cituated here but I would not insist on your coming without mature deliberation altho I am perfectly satesfied withe the prospects of the town and country and the disposition of people.

Father is not satisfied with the cold climate which has been remarkably changeable some daies we have june heat and others as cold as March.

All kinds of business are good good mechanik can get [almost] any kind of price and the cash down.

I get from $2.00 to $2.50 for small jobs and 8.00 for a coat.

Mond. morning this morning I took (of) a coat for Mr. G. H. Bowen the principle merchant of the place and one of the proprietors of the town.

The last that father and you talked about has never come to perfection and probably never will. One year ago last fall there were but 4 log caben and now there are about 35 the most of which are genteel frames from 1 to 3 story high and 8 now under way lots in town are selling at from $50 to 600 and I think its haserding but little to sa that lots that could be bought for $150 now will bee worth $1.000 in five years. Brother Wagner and the company with him have all landed safely.

Give our best respects to all our enquireing friends particularly unk [uncle] W. McCoy. Write immediately on the reception of this and give us all the information posible and state how the climate in Md. since we left there.

No more at preasent but I remane your well wisher in hopes of meeting both in this and in another world.

(Signed) J. H. Smith.

Savanna
Jo davies Co.
Ills.

(Postmarked) Elkhorn Grove, Ill., April 16,-39.
(Postage) 25c.

Mr. David Ports,
Boonsborough, Washington County,
Md.

Dear Brother, I once more take up my pen to give you some information of our afairs and the far west to which we have straid. We landed at Savanna with father the time I toled you in my last; he landed with $500 and his mair, waggon, and harness which he soled for $165 more making in all a capitol of $665; his 300 acres of land he intended to get has dwindled down to about ¾ of an acre one of which he proffered me but I declined accepting it thinking he would kneed it himself if he lived to get olde. He built himself a log house on one of his lots into which he moved the 7th. of July without a cent to bless himself and to cap the monstrous climax he and mother ware maried the 1st of Jan. last. You may ask me what I have done (who landed with only one dollar in my pocket and $30.00 of olde debts on me) Well I will tell you I began to work, and as I worked I lived in the olde fashion way from hand to mouth at the following rates, flour $10 per barrel, bacon 14 cts, per lb. beef 9 and mutton 7 and notwithstanding we had four months sickness (dureing which time I was doctor, nurse and cook) we still live to the preys of him whose tender mercies are over all his works, and eat our own corn and pork In addition to that I have 35 acres of prararie as good as any man could wish every foot of which can be cultivated without the annoyance of stump or stone and 5 of timber and a good log caben all for $60 most of which is paid.

I also have 10 lots in Elkhorn city* at 125 dollars on a credit of two years to pay it in. We moved to this grove the 2 of Jan. Since that time we have been in good health. Sarah Ann weighs 120 lbs. and I 183 sinse we came to this place we have done better than we ever did in twice the time before. Respecting our country I am afraid to say anything lest I should not be believed; however I will venture an expression of opinion. The prararies in the summer present one vast natural garden of delights spreding before the aye sush a butiful and varagated senery decked with flowers of evry shape, sise, and hugh, that he that could not admire them must be destitute of a sence of beauty and elegance.

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*A paper city.

Levina has got 5 acres of timber and 5 of prararie for 30 dollars and the prararie broke for her bed. She has lived with us all winter within 4 weeks back when she went out for work for $2 per week. Father and mother are well.

My claim lies adjoining Elkhorn city which may become a place of considerable buisiness as the central railroad pases within 1 or 2 miles of us. We are still all well and perfectly satesfied with our situation and prospects.

Inform me when if ever desire comeing to our country. I think you could do well here for the cooper here charges 62½c for flour and 2 dol for pork barrals, and all other work in proportion. If I knew when you could get here I could have a house for you; however you shall not be houseless; bring nothing but your bed and clothes as for furnature we have no kneed of any.

If there are any persons coming to this part of the country this fall try and procure me as many locusts seed and chestnuts as possible; put them in a box and send them to me.

Give my respects to unkle Wm. McCoy and all our enquireing friends. Remember Levina to Mrs. Hammond and tel her that she has not written to her yet but has not forgot her promise; she is waiting to become more acquainted with the country so as to give all the information possible when she does write.

No more at preasent but entertain as ever the best wishes for your preasent and future happiness.

(Signed) J. H. Smith.

As soon as you get this letter *answer it* for I have been troubled for a month back with dreams of your death.

(Signed) Sarah A. Smith.

P. S. We have mechanicks of most all kinds, people from every state in the union and from most all parts of europ to give you some idea of the number of inhabitants there is about 75 or 80 families in our township of six miles square.

J. H. S.

Be shure to direct your letter
Elkhorn Grove P. O.,
Carroll Co., Ills.

(Postmarked) Buffalo Grove, Ill., Sept. 26-'39.
(Postage) 25c.

Mr. David Portz,
Boonsborough, Washington Co., Maryland.

Dear Brother.. I once more take up my pen to implore an answer to the many letters I have written we can get no answer from eny person that we have written to we believe the proverb that absent friends are soon forgotten if you would wish to know, I can inform you, that we are well and hope you are in the same ingoyment father has been sick this summer but he is now well and continues to live in Savanna which is a very sickly place, a title we can give to all the towns on the

Missipey I must now inform you what we are dooing We have raised a hansome frame house in elkhorn City a new town which is laid out betwen buflo and elkhorn groves we expect to finish one room to move into this winter times are very hard here money is as scares as the indians and they have left the state long ago we have fine crops here wheat sells at 75 cents per bushel corn 37 oats 25 potatoes 37 and every thing els acording we have all maner of wild fruit here but if ever you come here bring me a good apple so I can look at it and if you posibley can, bring me a shrub bush, plant it in a box and leave a little hole to water it I am allmost out of news but must let you know Levina lives with us she is in good sperits now but she had some trouble this spring for por Pinkey was taken sick in may with the distemper /and died/ (poor pinkey)
but skip is alive and as cross as ever—enough concerning dogs. We are dooing better here then we ever could have done in the east we have a good home a good cow a good lot of chickens and a plenty of good things to eat and tolerable plenty of cold weather in the winter but the heat in the summer is greater than it is in the east.

I want you to write as soon as you receive this letter and let me know every thing that has transpired in Washington Co. within a year past. Let us know something about uncle Patrick's famly give our respects to uncle Macoy if he is yet living tell him we don't forget him although there are many mountains between us. Our country is not so healthy as it was cracked up to be there is a great deal of feaver and ague along all the water courses which is the case in every country espesuly in a new country but we have an excelent remeby to cure the creature, caled Sapingtons antifever pills which will stop it in thirty six hours let me know wheather any of our neighbours intend coming out in the spring and wheather you intend to come along I think you could not worse yourself for you will have a sisters house to stay in untill you can suit yourself you will not have the difficultys to indure that we had, being landed upon the maiden shores of the missisipy without either friends or money amongst straingers in a strange land but we soon found employment sufisient for our support.

I must now conclude by sending our best respects to you and Susan and to all our acquaintances.

You need not be afraid Indians or of starveing the former have left the State, and as respects the latter there is produce of all kinds enough to supply the present population for two years no more at present but we remain as ever your affectionate sisters and brother,

(Signed) Sarah A. Smith.

direct your letter to

Elkhorn Grove, Carroll Co., Ills.

(Postmarked) Elkhorn Grove, Illinois,
Dec. 24th, 1839.
(Postage) 25c.

Mr. David Ports,
Boonsborough, Washington Co., Md.

Dear Brother and Sister we are all tolerable well except bad colds. In reference to your coming to our country I am of the opinion that the cheapest way of coming wold be by water and the best time is the spring as the water which you have to use is more healthy in the spring than in the faul I would advise you to come next spring by all means for the land is expected to come in the market next faul or the spring following. Take a pasage at Wheeling for Fulton City as the troble of reshipping and getting another boat may be great; land at Fulton City leave your family and come here on foot a distance of 20 miles and we will get a waggon and team to bring your family and frait. Another disadvantage attending comeing the faul is the low water in. Be cautions of taking pasage on a boat in great reputation for speed for they are more liable to meet with accidents than those of less speed. Flour barrels are 50c. Lavinia sais she will let you have as much timber as you can work up in one winter for a begining Produce of all kinds is low owing to the great abundance rased this year. wheat is 75c. corn 20c and no demand the price of labor has not fell in the same proportion labor of all kinds being in great demand but we have suffered much here in consiquence of the pressure cash is very scarce. When you get to Wheeling procure a supply of Sapingtons antifever pills and follow the directions in case of an attack on your journey. Get two bed pans if possible crockery if no other ½ lb cough powder 1 box of streangthening plaster.

if you are in need of clothes get the stuff and get them made after you get here get stuff for an overcoat of the stoutest you can get if you need it also bring all your dishes for they are high here

In refferance to the climate here the cold would not be felt as much as it is ware it not for the country being so open and the houses generly open. We had frost the last night of August snow the 5th. of November 9th. it froze all day in the shade and on the 19th. hard freezing commenced 23rd. snow december 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15th. snow yet the weather has been moderate except 24 & 25 November

Notwithstanding the early frost there is little if any corn frosted. Inform David Hammond that shortly after we landed at Savanna, we saw William Snider with sister Catharine and her husband all of whome ware on their way to Iowa terratory

Father and Mother ware well a few days ago when we heard though he has been sick considerably this sumer and faul Give our respects to Mrs. Kiplinger and tel her to send me some sort of her flower seed viz. roses, May cent pink, procure a box of convenient sise to contain the following roots viz. tame grapes, tame camomile, sweet brier, gesamine rose, red & white currents, flowerry ammon, engraft into the roots the old time early sweet apple, sweet pipen, yellow pipen, green pipen, the paridice apple, the best pears, gipler apple, leave the upper end of

your box open so as to receive water occasionally on your journey

We built a chimney, laid a hearth, dobed the house, and dug a well in six days if old Maryland can beat that send me word. tell Susan to ask Mrs. Booth for a quilt pattern called tangle britches which she has peised with pale blue calico replace a flat iron to old Mr. Stone wich we took in a mistake and we will give you one when you come bring Mulkyes sylabic spelling book and Kirkmuns gramer. Give our respects to uncle McCoy and all who think us worth enquireing after. Write as soon as you receive this and inform me how and when you are comeing

No more at present but remain yours with love and esteem

(Signed) James H. Smith.

don't forget a shrub bush.

(Postmarked) Buffalo Grove, Ill.,
January 28th., 1840.

Mr. David Ports, (Postage) 25c.
Boonsborough, Washington Co., Maryland.

Dear Brother, I am bound by the ties of humanity and friendship to write to you and let you know how we are doing We are all well and doing well considering the hard times. We received your letter last faul in which you stated your intention of comeing to Illinois this faul we received the intelligence with great pleasure and satisfaction and have maid what preparation we could for your comfortable receiption but we have looked in vane and our disappointment has given us uneasiness [?] and the last though not least has been your entire silance for the last year we wrote you a letter shortly before we received your last and another when we received yours and gave you my opinion as to the mode of traveling which is by water I consider it to be the less expensive, the spediest, the less hasardous, and imbracing the most comfort. The spring is desidedly the best time for comeing to this country I would not by any means advise you to some by land in the spring; you would have bad roads and high waters which would impede your progress and there by increase the expense: on the other hand you would have to travel through a sickly country which might hasard the health of yourself and family; Father has rented his property in Savanna for seven dollars per month and has moved to Elkhorn and built near us he has had bad health for the last two years though for some time past it has been good except a continual busing in his head which causes him to bee very faint at times. Mother has enjoyed good health with but few exceptions sins she landed in the country. Lavinia is well and has had generally good health sins she left Savanna She is out at work 3½ miles from us in an agreable family at $2 per week where she expects to remain until March after that time she intends coming home and living with us when she expects by that time if no preventing providence occurs to have money enough to purchas 25 acres of land besids purchasing a hive of bees, a yearling calf and three hogs, keeping herself in good clothes and leaveing

enough for commenceing the silk business in the spring which she intends doing. We have had 1½ acres under cultivation the past season and raised the following kinds and quantities of sugar beet and mangle wortzel 200 bushels, rutabagoes 50, turnips 10, pumpkins and watermelons 4 wagon loads, cucumbers 4 barrels, potatoes 100 bushels, cabbages one waggon load corn 5 bushels. From this statement you may have some idea of the quality of our soil. You need not trouble yourself about locust seed we have enough of that here, but I would be glad if you could get some sasafras roots if they were taken up carefully and packed in moist dirt I think they would grow here I have heard many regret that there is none here all believe it would grow if it were introduced.

Coopering is in great demand, flour barrels are 50 cts. a peace and tight barrels with only one head are $2 if you come to this country you will not worst yourself nor ever have reason to regret your journey.

Although we are oppressed here by the hard times and scarcety of money still the ritchness of our soil, the low price at which it can be purchased, and the ease with which it can be improved and cultivated all conspire to entitle it to the appelation of the western paradice which it has received—a garden of delights greatly to be desired by the agricultural community of all sections who desire to make a livelahood by their occupation: and you know where the farmer can live no class need starve.

Give me an account of death and marriages that have taken place since we left and who has moved away. How is unkle McCoy getting along tel him we have not forgot him though we write not. Father and mother send their respects to you all. Give our respects to all who may think us worth enquiring after.

No more at present but remain your affectionate brother and sisters til death shall seperate us farther from each other than we are at preasant.

(Signed) James H. Smith.
(Signed) Sarah A. Smith.

P. S. Write immediately on the receiption of this for if you do not we shall conclude that you have forgotten us and given up the idea of comeing to the northwest inform us how D. Hammond is coming on and what has become of Sarah Ann; Sarah Ann says if Otha James comes to this country he shall be her adopted son.
Elk Horn Grove Carroll County Jan. the 9th., 1841.

(Postmarked) Cherry Grove,
8th. February, 1844.
(Postage) 25c.

Mr. David Ports,
Boonsborough, Washington Co., Md.

Dear Brother and Sister.. I now take up my pen to give you the melencolen news of the death of our dear sister Lavinia who was mar-

ied the 2nd. of last Aprile to a miller a widdower by name William James and died last Sunday night quarter past nine o'clock P. M. One of the greatest causes of grief to us is that we live 30 ms. distant and never got word of her illness until Sunday. Her complaint in the first place was false conseption. She then took cold and it terminated in concumtion her whole illness lasted only four weeks.

We had a fine daughter born October the 7th., 1841 which we call Eurillah Jane and the 12th. December last a fine son which we call James William.

It is but justice to Lavinia's neighbours to say that she had all the assistance that her neighbours could afford in all her illness and the best botanical doctor in the country. Sarah Ann is as well as could be expected, considering a bad could she had previous to her confinement accompanied with a most afflicting cough which has raged to great extent thrugh the whole country.

Father and mother are both well considering the infermaties of old age; father complains very mutch with rhumatism they now live near us his house is unocupied in Savanna they unight with us in earnestly requesting your wrighting and leting us know something of your affairs.

I must now state the reason of my remaining so long silent. The last letter got from you was in the faul of 1839 in that letter stated your intention of comeing to this country and requested my advice as to the best route I then wrote immediately in which I gave you all the directions I thought necessary, notwithstanding I had written but a short time before.

Since that time we have had no information of you except occationly from persons comeing from Maryland we made all the preparations in our power for your comfortable reception. Spring roled around and we looked in vain for you or any tidings from you. I concluded that you were affrunted from some cause we knew not what we thought that you did not intend to trouble yourself about us nor wish to be troubled by us so we concluded to not write to you any more but circumstances have transpired I think a bad promise is better broke than kept. You will therefore except this as an apology and be careful not to give us any ground of complaint from this sorce in future I trust that you will write by which you will afford us satisfaction and discharge your own duty.

I have sold my possession at Elkhorn Grove and moved to this a distance of 17 miles whare I have got good farming land, good mowing land, and a never failing spring of good water. Give our love to unkle McCoy and tel him that he is not forgotten by us though we write not; tel him to write to us. I am still pleased with the country although I have had to struggle against hardships of various kinds I still thing that the north-western part of Ills. possesses advantages over any portion of country I have had the fortian to see yet even this has its disadvantages which I think will be overcome in time by persevering industry of man.

Direct your letters Cherry Grove Carroll Co. No more at preasant but remain your sincere and affectionate brother and well wisher

(Signed) J. H. Smith.

Feb. 4th., 1844.

Dear Brother Tell me whether you intend comeing to this country let me know how many children you have and their names and ages Our poor sister had to go down to the grave without hearing from you the withering hand of death would wait no longger She had a kind husband who was both willing and able to make her comfortable while she did live. Give my respects to all our friends.

(Signed) Sarah J. Smith.

(Postmarked) Cherry Grove, Ills.,
13th. July, 1844.
(Postage) 25c.

Mr. David Ports,
Boonsboro, Washington Co., Md.

Dear Brother I take up my pen to answer your letter dated Aprile last which bares to us inteligence of a most melancholy carrecter. To hear of the distress of one who would have divided the last dollar he possessed to relieve my distress, without being able to offer any relief produces feelings which may be immagined but not discribed. We are all as well as usual. Sarah Ann had a bad cough las winter during her confinement, which has left a pain in her left side and breast and racked her constitution considerably.

You say you desire comeing out next Spring which if you postpone longer Sarah Ann will dispare of ever seeing you.

You have resolved to come foul or fair this I am glad to hear In reference to that my advise is this: embrace every opertunity of selling all the property you can for money and lay that by to defray your traveling expences and the rest sell at publick sale except what you need on the road and if you cannot pay all pay all you can and come for if you can pay them after you get here sooner than by staing there (which I believe you can) your creditors will loose nothing and you will gain by coming for it is my opinion from what you say of the hard times that a poor man in debt in Maryland must remain so a long time. I will now answer one question which is the hardest of all you ask namely what fortune I have made here in order that you may have a correct idea of my preasant circumstances. Will say I bought——town lots in a nice vilage for 185 dollars on condition of the proprietor digging a well. I also bought 5 acres of timber & 40 of prairie for 40 dollars and a log cabin for 20 dollars; this town property I fenced which cost me $52 on which I built a frame house cost $450 more here you see my condition living all the time from hand to mouth in the meantime the proprieters failed to dig the well which I was not able to do I had to haul my water a mile after a triel of four years I got tired and determined to leave for Cherry Grove and make a farm my house I sold for $125 timber for 32 fence for 30 log cabin for 8 and prairie for 30 in brakeing of prarie which was to have been paid the 20th. of this

month but this I have been cheeted out of by the man of whom I bought saying that he never sold it to me but gave it to me on condition of my improveing it which I did not do.

Last faul I came on my clame for which I paid $40 and raised a hewed log house 17½ feet square but was unable to finish it and built a log cabin.....James William was born. (Father's house is now occupied next spring he expects to go to Savanna and live in his house where you will land if you come by water which I think would be your best rout. The best cituation in this country for you at this time is Mt. Carroll whare you can get 20c per barrel shop and stuff all found you whare they can use 100 per day house rent about as you pay in Maryland grosaries & clothing as cheap or cheaper superfine flour $1.75 per hundred.) I had like to forgot to tel you that I am nearer out of debt than I have been for five years past I have a waggon, a yoke of oxen, a cow and calf and a yearling filly, a fifty dollar note paiable Jan. 1st., 1846.

If after you arrive here you should wish to make a farm I can furnish you with a prarie clame on which there is a good spring one mile nearer timber than I am a fire wood anough your lifetime

You may perhaps wish to know how you can fence a farm without timber I am fencing mine with sod 2½ rods of which I can make per day this is faster than I could make a rale fence at the distance I am from timber. Lavinie had 5 acres of timber land in Elkhorn Grove which her husband sold for 86 bushels of wheat but never got a deed during her life time and she dieing without heirs prevents him from geting it the law this state gives it to father, you and Sarah Ann the man from whom the deed is comeing says he will make father a deed and he sais you shall have his shear.

There is a three cornered piece torn out of this letter at this point the gist of which may be easily determined from what remains.

Illinois nead not discourrage you I have worked....able but I have been cheated out of it still I do not.....this country nor dispair of making a living if the life.....self and family is spared. Go to no expense of buy a waggon or....Get to Wheeling the best way you can from there I think your whole.....will not exceed.....to Savanna provisions and all.

Come out next Spring, if reddy or not reddy, but if you should not like the country do not blame me the winters are very cold and the wether generally changeable we have had frost every month in the year for two years sinse I have been here but still we have good crops.

We have had a great deal of wet wether for two months past which opperates against the corn preventing the people from plowing it as they aught but wheat and oats look very promiseing.

No more at preasent but remain your firm friend and well wisher July the 5th., 1844

(Signed) J. M. and Sarah Smith.

N. B. I have nothing nor father either which we could turn into money or we would gladly send you some money to help you out you say we nead not make any preparations for your reception this we

can not do now if you had come in the spring of 1840 as expected we might have afforded you some assistance but we will do all we can for your comfort.

(Postmarked) Mt. Morris, Ills.,
November 23rd., 1846.
(Postage) 10c

Mr. David Ports,
Lappens X Roads, Washington County, Md.

Well old friend I take this opportunity to forward you a few lines to inform you that we are all well at present and hoping theas few lines will find you all ingoing the same blesing—it has been pretty sickley all around us with the chils and fever and some cases of the bilous feaver but not many deths—I suppose you heard of the deth of my father He wasant well from the time we left Maryland til his deth—And I supose you heard of the deth of old Mr. Palmer and Isaack Emore—it tis bin the sicklist spring and fall that has bin sinse any of our Marylanders has bin out heare—Well I must let you heare what I think of this little valley as I cal it for it tis onley abught 800 miles to the Alagany and 2000 to the Rocka mounten—I must tel you the truth I don't wish myself back you may depend on it to be a slave I am in a free state and a plenty of worke and good wages. —I can get more for my family by wirking 2 days in the week than you can and wirk 6 and I will give you my reason for saying so. I make my dollar per day in the summer and get in the winter one Dollar pir hundred for making rails and in the fall you get 4 bushels of corn for one days wirking on the stack—well this fall porks will bin abught 2 dollars and maybe 2.50—wheat is selling heare from 30 to 37½ corn from 10 to 12½—potatoes we don't keep any account of them and the best I ever eat is hear—if you will pleas to bring me a waggon load of appels and sider I will give you 4 bushels of potatoes for one bushel of appels—altho I have some barels but tha have.... tha ante as sweet as your appels.

And then you can raise as much off one acre heare as you can raise of 3 in Maryland Mr and Curren bild a house 16 by 20 on Mr. S. Hitt land last yinter—he found all and I done the wirk and I get it for a tirm of years he break up some land—and I just put holes in the sod and planted my potatoes pumpkins cabbage and never done anything til I dug them and had better potatoes than I ever had among your stones—I forgot to tel you the price of beef I can buy the best of beef for from 2 to 3c pir pound—and it would do your hart good to sea the ..... prairie hens partredges rabbits wild geese ducks and then go to Rock River with us when we cetch pike that will way from 20 to 25 pounds and sturgeons that way from 70 to 100lb. and all kinds of the best fish—I am a nitting a sain [sein] 50 yards long for Mr. Heth brother James and myself—James lives 3 miles and Will 8 from me and doing well—I live one mile and half from Mt. Morris—And if I cold get my mony I ben by [would buy] 20 akers one mile from Mt. Morris and all my old Marylanders around me—the man that owns the land is abilden am another place a mile from it and

wants money bad so now is my time if I had my mony. I want you to get to see H. Palmer and tel him to go and see Dr. Titghman and then let him tel you what luck and wright to me—also I rote to V. Taves laste fall abut some business and haven got any answer—I wold like to no what he has done for me—also I rote to Thos. Albaste and havent got any answer—but I reken out of site out of mind. I got a letter from E. Blom and a mail paper—and by what I see in it I think all the Locofokes has turned rong side out—you have made a pore sho. I am glad that I am out of the scrape—so I think you and some more had better come to this free state—before you get to be a whig.

O I forgot to tel you the prise of whiskey, Ohio Whiskey is 60c per gallon—the rot-gut that they make heare is 37½ but when you drink it you must hold your brith and it tastes a week old by 6 days and if you get any in the summer you must hurry home as it will get sawer—for my part I don't take a dram sometimes for 2 monts—and I am hartier and can eat like old Tom Boisung. My old woman is gitten so fat she can hardley waddel—I thot moving so far from the old sod we wold stop our old tricks but it tis like the boys bela ake [belly ache]—worsen—we are both gitten young—and if you wold see Mrs. Albart how she can jump abut you wold think it was a gal of 16 and she never was hartier than she has ben this summer—my old woman, Mrs. Albart, lawrence, Mary and the rest of my family send their best respects to you and wife and Miss Poffenbarger and to all thare enquireing friends—also my respects to all my old friends and if you and some more will come over some saturday I will have you some Ohio whiskey and a good mess of our big fish and some fried venison—I must close and I hope you will get my letter and will see Mr. Palmer you will rite and I hope to heare that you are a coming to this fine cuntra—Nothing more but still remain your old friend.

(Signed) O. H. Wallace.

Nov. 24, 1846.

P. S. If you have any noshen to come out heare and if you want me to attend to anything abught your farthers estate I will with pleasure Smith lives abught 30 miles from me and if you want me I will find out if your farther maid a will or not and how it stands It wold ben the best thing you ever done to come out here—and a good many more of my old friends to make a easy and a good living—I want you to see V. David Davis—I want to know what he has done for me for I must have a meshean augar from hearde some how—he can get achance [?] to send it by some one in the spring—Don't fale and right to me as soon as you see the persons I have menshend—and I will be happy to heare from you and all my old friends—my letter is like all you old Locofhers [Locofocos]—it is upside down—I must give it up.

March 13, 1855.

Extracts* from a letter written by David Ports of Millpoint Maryland to John Barker of Rush Creek, (near Savanna) Illinois, but never mailed. Written in answer to a letter of Barker's of September 8th, 1853.

"I have hard times here; my family is large and hard times to contend with. Flour is $9.00 per barrel, corn $1.40 per bushel. Potatoes $2.00 per bushel; bacon from 12 to 18c per pound; and everything else in proportion."

"As regards my coming to your country I must tell you that it is impossible for me at this time as I am not able to get anything ahead; otherwise I should like very much to come as I don't think I could worse myself."

Rush Creek, Carroll Co.,
March 21st, 1857.

Extracts from letter of John Barker to David Ports.—

"The burying ground where your father and brother lay was sold by the owner for building lots two years ago. I took up your father's body; put it in the new burying ground. The young man had mouldered away."

"The railroad will be completed this fall; then we shall have a road to the eastern market."

"We have to pay $150 for a good horse. Prices are high; cows are worth from $20 to $35; beef is worth from eight to twelve cents; flour $5.50 per barrel; corn 50c; butter 20c per pound; flour barrels 50c; pork barrels $1.50 and hard to get."

(Signed) John Barker.

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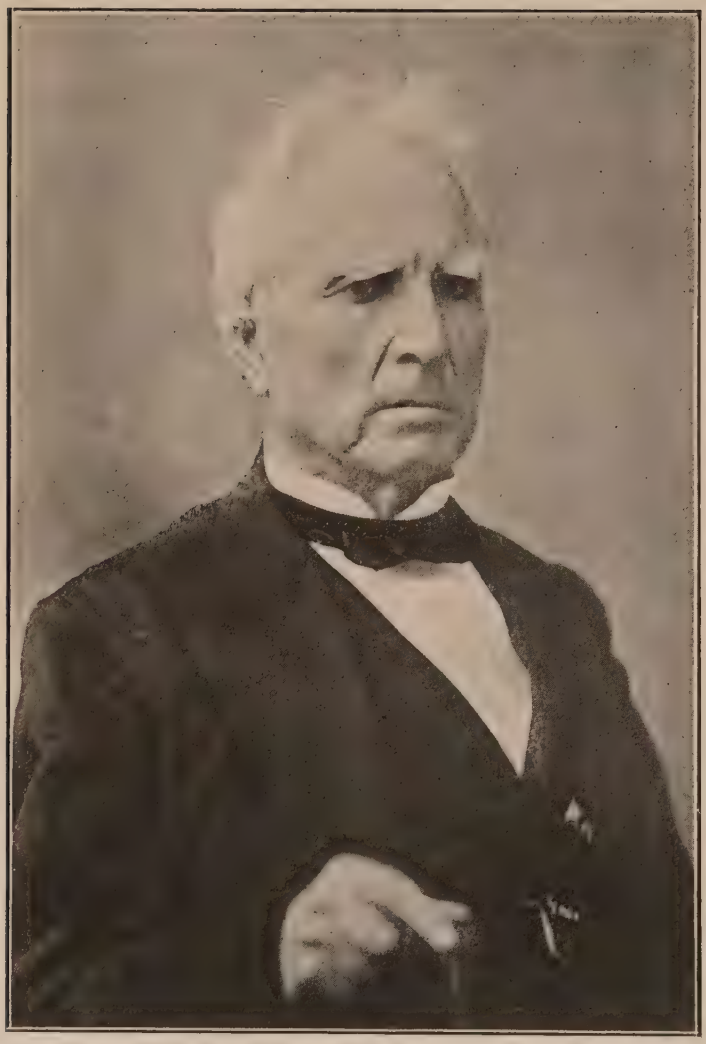
*The extracts from this and following letttr were evidently mailed in envelopes as there was no postmark or address on outside, as in the case of the earlier letters.

PART IV.

Miscellaneous Contributions to State History



HON. WILLIAM THOMAS.

THE WINNEBAGO "WAR" OF 1827.

By Wm. Thomas.

[The writer of the following communication to the *Jacksonville Journal* of Aug. 21st, 1871, Hon. William Thomas, was born in Allen (then Warren) county, Kentucky, on the 22d of Nov. 1802, and there received the rudiments of an English education at the county schools. When about grown he served as deputy for his father who was sheriff of the county. He was then appointed deputy county clerk, and later studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1823. In 1826 he came to Illinois locating at Jacksonville where he remained the rest of his life. The first winter there he taught school, and the next summer he volunteered as a private in the militia called out by Gov. Edwards to repel the Winnebago uprising in JoDaviess county, and was appointed quartermaster sergeant. He attended the Legislature of 1828-29 at Vandalia, and reported its proceedings for the *Intelligencer* of that place. At that session he was elected by the Legislature States Attorney of a new circuit created north of the Illinois river. On March 25th, 1830, he married Miss Catherine Scott of Morgan county. The next year he was appointed school commissioner of that county. He served as quartermaster general in the two campaigns against Black Hawk, 1831-32. In 1834 he was elected State Senator. Near the close of his term of four years the Deaf and Dumb Institution was established at Jacksonville of which he was made one of the trustees, and served in that capacity for thirty years. In March, 1839, he was elected circuit judge. In 1846 he was elected to the Legislature, and in 1847 was chosen as delegate from Morgan county to the Constitutional Convention. He was again elected to the Legislature in 1850. In 1861 he was appointed by the Governor a member of the Board of Army Auditors, and in 1869 a member of the State Board of Charities.

His wife died July 26, 1875, their only child, Underwood Thomas, having died some years before. In old age he married Mrs. Leanna Orear, who survived him, his death occurring at Jacksonville, August 22d, 1889, at the age of 86 years, 9 months.—J. F. S.]*

But few of the actors in that war remain among us. In 1827 Governor Edwards received information on which he relied, that the Winnebago Indians had attacked some keel boats which had been employed conveying army supplies to Prairie du Chien on their return down the river, and that settlers and miners on Fever river were in imminent danger from the same and other Indians. The Governor ordered the commanders of the different regiments and odd battalions of General Harrison's brigade on the eastern side of the Illinois river (except the 20th regiment) to take immediate steps for detaching into service, according to law, one-fourth of their respective commands. And should any part of the frontier south of Rock river be invaded by the savages, the Colonel entitled by law to command the detachment, was ordered to march it, with the least delay, to the support of the point of attack without waiting for further orders.

* J. F. Snyder.

The Governor also sent by express (meaning a messenger on horseback) to Col. Thomas M. Neal, of Springfield, commanding the 20th regiment of militia, an order, saying, "You will accept any number of mounted volunteers, not exceeding six hundred, who will equip themselves find their own subsistence, and continue in service for thirty days, unless sooner discharged. They will rendezvous as fast as possible at Fort Clark (meaning Peoria), where you will organize, and take command, of them, and march with all possible expedition to the assistance of our fellow citizens at Galena, where, if you find an officer of the United States army entitled to a superior command to yourself, you will report to him and receive orders. In your progress you will avoid rashly exposing your men to unequal contests; but it is expected that you will not overlook any proper opportunity of repelling any hostile incursions of the savages."

The facts represented to the Governor on which he acted have never (as far as I have known) been made public. Acting upon this order of the Governor, Col. Neale called for volunteers from the counties of Sangamon and Morgan. Three companies were raised in this county; one commanded by Wiley B. Green, the first sheriff of the county, numbering nearly one hundred, with John Wyatt 1st, and James Evans 2 lieutenants, and Jesse Rube, lately deceased, as orderly sergeant; one by William Gordon, number not exceeding forty, with Nathan Winters as 1st lieutenant and was commanded by Captain Rogers (who resided between Winchester and Meredosia), numbering the same as Captain Gordon's; the names of the other officers I have forgotten.

I was a volunteer in Captain Grave's company. My messmates were Doctor H. S. Taylor, McHenry Johnson, Enoch C. March, Sam. Blair and a man named Biggs, a visitor from Kentucky. Of this mess I am the only survivor. We were required to take ten days' provisions, during which time it was expected we would reach Galena, where additional supplies could be obtained.

During our preparations to start we had continual heavy rains, which raised the rivers, creeks and branches to an unusual height. The companies from this county made their way to Peoria in messes and squads, swimming the streams not bridged. Upon the arrival of all the corps at Peoria, Sam'l T. Mathews was elected lieutenant colonel, and Elijah Iles, of Springfield, major—who because he rode a mule was called mule major. So soon as we left Peoria, James D. Henry (afterwards General Henry) was appointed adjutant; Gershom Jayne, of Springfield, surgeon and Dr. Taylor assistant surgeon; Wm. Smith, a merchant of Springfield, quartermaster; and I was appointed quartermaster sergeant.

The heavy rains had extended to Rock river, and the prairies were so saturated with water that we could travel only in a walk, our horses onbreaking the sod at every step. Following a trail made by the Indians and persons going to the lead mines, on the fifth day from Peoria we reached Rock river at Dixon's Ferry. During the march we had to drink the water standing in swamps, pools and holes in the prairies. Upon reaching Rock river, seeing that it was a beautiful,

clear stream with gentle current, we expected a good drink of water, but, to our surprise, we found that no better than the water of the swamps through which we had passed. Dozens were made sick by swallowing the water before tasting it. We forded the river in the afternoon on a Sunday, those riding small horses swimming, and encamped on the bank until next day. Beyond the river we found the country dry.

By this time our ten days' provisions were exhausted—we had in a baggage wagon only two barrels of flour, and some crackers, and the most of a barrel of whiskey, which we divided that evening, and prepared for an early start next morning.

Accordingly on the next morning we made an early start, and about twelve o'clock found a beautiful spring of clear water, the first that we had seen since leaving Peoria, and of which we partook with a will. We took dinner there, and let our horses graze for more than an hour, then continued the march until sundown, when, finding another good spring, we encamped, having marched, as we supposed, twenty-five miles that day. The next day, by forced march, we reached Gratiot's Grove, fifteen miles from Galena, where we were unable to procure supplies, and where we remained the next day. Then we removed our encampment to the White Oak Springs, near a tavern house occupied by Mrs. Nabb, from Springfield. We neither found, or could hear of any officer of the United States army, nor of any hostile Indians.

Captain Smith, of Sangamon, and Captain Rodgers, of Morgan county, agreed to go to Prairie du Chien with a report for Colonel Neale to the commanding officer of that post. They started without a pilot or compass. They were gone several days, and finally returned, reporting that they had lost their way, and had not been able to reach the garrison.

The thirty days of our enlistment being then about expiring, and all apprehension of hostility from Indians having ceased, Col. Neale decided to disband the army (regiment), and the men were supplied with provisions to last them home, and returned in companies and messes.

During the winter of 1826-27, and spring of 1827, an immense number of adventurers and pioneers had gone up to the Fever river country expecting to make fortunes by working in the mines, who upon the alarm that the Indians were threatening them, returned in haste by the first means or conveyance. Most of them came down the river, because it was not considered safe to attempt to pass down the land route, and here originated the name "Sucker," the fish of that name, it was said, passed down the river at that season of the year, and citizens of southern Illinois were said, in their flight, to follow the example of the fishes.*

*Gov. Ford says: (History of Illinois, pp. 67, 68.) "It was estimated that the number of miners in the mining country in 1827, was six or seven thousand. The Illinoians run up the Mississippi river in steamboats in the spring season, worked the lead mines during the warm weather, and then run down the river again to their homes, in the fall season, thus establishing, as was supposed, similitude between their migratory habits and those of the fishy tribe called 'Suckers'. For which reason the Illinoians were called 'Suckers', a name which has stuck to them ever since." In this account the order of migration is evidently reversed. The miners came down the river in the spring to their farms in southern Illinois to "pitch and tend" their crops, and went up to the lead mines to work through the winter when they had no productive work they could do at their homes.—J. F. S.

We found the flux prevailing as an epidemic all over the mining country. All the doctors in the country were constantly engaged. The extent of the fatality I had no means of knowing, but there was necessarily much suffering for want of medicines and other attendance among the sick, and many deaths.

Upon that campaign, many amusing incidents occurred, although the march through mud and water was by no means pleasant either to man or beast. We had several false alarms from the night sentinels, and, in consequence, calls to arms, intended to test the discipline and courage of the officers and soldiers. Upon the first alarm, our Captain Greene was suddenly taken ill, and continued until the apparent danger was over.

We encamped the second night out from Peoria near the present village of Tiskilwa, where Sergeant Teas, of Sangamon county, found a bee tree from which he and his mess obtained a good supply of honey. One morning Adjutant Henry and myself, hoping from the appearance of the country miles ahead, that we could find running water, rode in advance of the regiment, intending to mix with the water part of a bottle of whiskey in my saddlebags. We found only some pools of stagnant water, but every drop of the whiskey had leaked out through the corn cob stopper of my bottle; so we had to drink the stagnant water without the benefit of the whiskey. We saw no deer or wolves on the route; but prairie rattlesnakes afforded numerous opportunities for the skill of our marksmen.

When we reached the White Oak Springs our quartermaster, whose duty it was to purchase supplies, deserted us, and that duty devolved upon the sergeant, who discharged it to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. Crossing the Winnebago swamp, or marsh, many of our horses became mired, so that the riders had to dismount, and occasionally the horses had to be drawn out by use of the halters and bridles.

Forage for horses was out of the question and they had to subsist on prairie grass alone. After leaving the settlements we saw no green-headed flies, though they were exceedingly troublesome on the route to Peoria. The Governor's order was dated July 4, 1827, at Mt. Vernon. The regiment, composed of independent farmers and mechanics, was raised, organized, marched to White Oak Springs, and returned home in not exceeding thirty days. Two of our Morgan county men were drowned in a branch of Crooked creek when returning home. We had no baggage wagon from this county. My mess had a very good tent, which very few of the other messes had. Having no baggage wagons, and having to carry our provisions, arms and equipments on horseback, we had but little room for tents, even if they had been supplied. We slept on saddle blankets on the ground, with our saddles for pillows, and for covering, overcoats and blankets. During that season of the year, however, we had but little use for covering, other than our overcoats.

The question of pay was not considered of much consequence; it was well understood that this depended on the action of Congress, and no fears were entertained of the success of Gen. Duncan, our rep-

resentative in Congress, in obtaining the necessary appropriation. We were not disappointed, as appropriations were made by the sessions of Congress of 1827-28, and we were paid in the spring of 1828 the full rates; each sergeant major and quartermaster sergeant nine dollars per month; each drum and fife major eight dollars and thirty-three cents per month; each corporal, drummer, fifer and teamster seven dollars and thirty-three cents; each farrier, saddler and artificer, rated as privates, eight dollars; each gunner, bombardier and private, six dollars and sixty-six cents, in addition to which we were paid for the use of our horses, arms and accoutrements, and for the risk thereof, except for horses killed in action, forty cents per day. For rations seventy-five cents per day, and one day's pay for fifteen miles travel to the place of rendezvous and returning home.

["Col. Thomas M. Neale was born in Fanquier county, Virginia in 1796. When he was a mere child he was taken by his parents to Bowling Green, Kentucky. On the breaking out of the war of 1812, he enlisted and served his country faithfully as a common soldier. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in Bowling Green. In the fall of 1824, Mr. Neale arrived in Springfield, and at once commenced the practice of law. For some three or four years his practice was good. In the campaign against the Winnebago Indians in 1827, he was the colonel in command of all the infantry companies. (?) After the Black Hawk war, Col. Neale was elected surveyor of the county, and one of his acts was the appointment of Abraham Lincoln as his deputy. He was also a justice of the peace for many years, and as such uniting many couples in marriage, some times receiving as his fee only a saddle of venison. He died August 7, 1840." From the *History of Sangamon County, Illinois*. Interstate Publishing Company, Chicago, 1881, p. 77.

In the first campaign of the Black Hawk war, 1831, Col. Neale served as paymaster of the first regiment of Gen. Jos. Duncan's brigade. The other officers of the regiment were Colonel James D. Henry, Lieut. Colonel Jacob Fry, Major John T. Stuart, Adjutant Thomas Collins and Quartermaster Edward Jones.—J. F. S.]

THE OATH OF VINCENNES.

By Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois.

When George Rogers Clark occupied Kaskaskia on the night of July 4-5, 1778, he was greatly surprised to find that his position was made less difficult for him by an important party of American traders, resident in the village, and French inhabitants, all of whom were favorable to the cause represented by himself, and that it was through the endeavors of this party that no resistance to his occupation of the village had been offered.* It was on account of the friendly feeling of this party and with its coöperation that he was able to send on July 5th a detachment of thirty men under Captain Bowman to Cahokia, where the local American party was sufficiently strong to persuade all the villagers to take the oath of allegiance.

The position of Vincennes, which was on the road to Detroit, where was situated the main force of the British in the northwest, made necessary its occupancy by Clark; for, should a company of British soldiers be placed there, Clark would be cut off from all communication with the East and his own position at Kaskaskia continually threatened. The final result would have been that the Virginians could only escape by taking refuge on the Spanish side of the river. Clark clearly perceived the importance of the position, but dared not reduce his small company by detaching from it sufficient men to occupy a distant village. His only hope lay, therefore, in the friendly attitude of the French inhabitants. This he had proved in Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and the French of these villages assured him that the people of Vincennes were of the same mind. Clark had in his own hands further proof of their attachment, for among letters of Commandant Rocheblave was one from Lieutenant Governor Abbott, commandant of Vincennes, in which the Vincennes French were called rebels.†

The timid and shortsighted policy of the British government in withdrawing garrisons from the posts in the west gave Clark the same advantages at Vincennes that had made possible his occupancy of Kaskaskia. Abbott had been appointed lieutenant governor of the post and had been in the village a short time during 1777, but in the summer of 1778, the village was no longer protected by a British garrison. This made the plan which had been formed by Clark and the French possible of execution.

*For a full discussion of the help given by this American party at Kaskaskia, see Illinois Hist. Collection, II., Introduction, XXXI, *et seq.*

†See "post".

The priest of the parish of Kaskaskia, who was at the same time vicar general of the Illinois country, was Father Pierre Gibault, who had been in the country for several years and exercised great influence over the French.* He had been a member of the American party, before the arrival of Clark, and had proved his loyalty in all the events which bound the French to the American cause. He assured the Virginia commander that it would be unnecessary to send a military force to Vincennes, because he and the French could persuade the villagers to throw in their lot with the Americans.† With the priest in this mission was associated Dr. Jean Baptiste Lafont, who was to act in a civil capacity, while Father Gibault used his spiritual influence,‡ Other men accompanied these, among whom was a spy in Clark's interest.

A proclamaton to be published to the people of Vincennes was prepared. This was undoubtedly translated into French by Jean Baptiste Girault, a resident of Cahokia, who had been appointed on July 6th the official translator.§‖ It read as follows:

"George Rogers Clark, Colonel Commandant of the troops of Virginia at the Falls of the Ohio and at the Illinois, etc., addresses the inhabitants of the Post of Vincennes.

"The inhabitants of the different British posts from Detroit to this post, having on account of their commerce and position great influence over the various savage nations, have been considered as persons fitted to support the tyrannies which have been practiced by the British ministry from the commencement of the present contest.

"The secretary of state for America has ordered Governor Hamilton at Detroit to intermingle all the young men with the different nations of savages, to commission officers to conduct them, to furnish them all necessary supplies, and to do everything which depends on him to excite them to assassinate the inhabitants of the frontiers of the United States of America; which orders have been put into execution at a council held with the different savage nations at Detroit the 17th to the 24th day of the month of June, 1777. The murders and assassinations of women and children and the depredations and ravages, which have been committed, cry for vengence with a loud voice.

"Since the United States has now gained the advantage over their British enemies, and their plenipotentiaries have now made and concluded treaties of commerce and alliance with the kingdom of France and other powerful nations of Europe, His Excellency the Governor of Virginia has ordered me to reduce the different posts to the west of the Miami with a part of the troops under my command, in order to prevent longer responsibility for innocent blood. According to these

*Shea, "Life and Times of Most Rev. John Carroll, *passim*."

†Clark's Memoir in English "Conquest of the Northwest," I. 487.

‡I have not succeeded in finding any information concerning Lafont.

§Can. Archives, B., 184, vol. II, 508. The transcription of the French may be found in Appendix I. This is incorrectly endorsed as a "Petition of the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes to Colonel Clark of Virginia", but is correctly callendared in the Can. Archives Report for 1888. The endorsement states that it was received December 4, 1780, which is the date upon which the papers taken from Colonel de la Balme were received at the British headquarters. So probably a copy of the proclamation of George Rogers Clark was carried on the ill-starred expedition of that leader. Since it appears among the calendars of non-related papers, it has escaped the notice of historians up to this time; at least I have not noticed its previous use. See Dunn, *Indiana*, 136; English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I, 201.

‖For further information concerning Girault, consult *Ill. Hist. Collections*, II, 20, n. 2.

orders I have taken possession of this fort and the munitions of this country; and I have caused to be published a proclamation offering assistance and protection to all the inhabitants against all their enemies and promising to treat them as the citizens of the Republic of Virginia (in the limits of which they are) and to protect their persons and property, if it is necessary, for the surety of which the faith of the government is pledged; provided the people give certain proofs of their attachment to the states by taking the oath of fidelity in such case required, as prescribed by the law, and by all other means which shall be possible for them, to which offers they have voluntarily acceded. I have been charmed to learn from a letter written by Governor Abbott to M. Rocheblave that you are in general attached to the cause of America.

"In consequence of which I invite you all to accept offers hereafter mentioned, and to enjoy all their privileges. If you accede to this offer, you will proceed to the nomination of a commandant by choice or election, who shall raise a company and take possession of the fort and of all the munitions of the king in the name of the United States of America for the Republic of Virginia and continue to defend the same until further orders.

"The person thus nominated shall have the rank of captain and shall have the commission as soon as possible, and he shall draw for rations and pay for himself and his company from the time they shall take the fort, etc., into possession. If it is necessary, fortifications shall be made, which will be also paid for by the State.

"I have the honor of being with much consideration, sirs, your very humble and obedient servant, G. R. Clark."

Armed only with this proclamation and some letters from the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Father Gibault and Dr. Lafont set forth to conquer Vincennes, possession of which would assure to the Virginians their hold on the Northwest. The story of their success may best be told in Clark's own language:* "All this had its desired effect. Mr. Gibault and his party arrived safe, and, after their spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal (except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country), and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner." The accompanying facsimile informs us for the first time how this oath was administered.† Each of the inhabitants subscribed to the following:

"You make oath on the Holy Evangel of Almighty God to renounce all fidelity to George the Third, King of Britain, and to his successors, and to be faithful and true subjects of the Republic of Virginia as a free and independent state; and I swear that I‡ will not do or cause anything or matter to be done which can be prejudicial to the liberty or independence of the said people, as prescribed by Congress, and that I will inform some one of the judges of the country of the said state of all treasons and conspiracies which shall come to my knowledge

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*Clark's *Memoir*, in Engligh, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I, 488.
†The transcription of the French and the signatures may be found in Appendix II.
‡The French of the oath is barbarous. The pronoun is three times changed.

against the said state or some other of the United States of America: In faith of which we have signed. At Post Vincennes, July 20, 1778. Long live the Congress."*

One hundred and eighty-two inhabitants subscribed to this oath by either signing their names or making their marks. After this, writes Clark:† "An officer was elected, the fort immediately [garrisoned], and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes." Father Gibault and his party with some of the inhabitants of Vincennes returned to Kaskaskia about August 1st with the "Oath of Vincennes" and the news of the peaceful occupancy of the Wabash valley.

This submission of Vincennes in July was not permanent, for a few months later the British under Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, retook it, and again threatened the Illinois country. Fortunately the season was so late that Hamilton decided to wait till spring to attack the Americans and therefore dispersed his troops and Indians. As is well known Clark anticipated the attack by marching in February, 1779, against Vincennes. He had learned to trust the French by that time and sent word to the people of Vincennes to expect him, and they did not disappoint him, when he arrived with his American and French army, after that tedious and difficult march over the submerged prairies.

Appendix I.

George Rogers Clark—Collonel Commandant des Troupes de la Virginie à la chûte de la Belle Riviere et aux Illinois &c &c.

Adresse

Messrs les Habitants du Poste Vincennes.

Les Habitants des differents Postes Britanniques depuis le Detroit jusque ce Poste ici, ayant par leur Commerce et leur situation Beaucoup d'Influence sur les differentes nations Sauvages, ont été consideré comme des Personnes propre à supporter les tirannie qui ont été pratiquée par le Ministere Britannique depuis le commencement de la Presente Contestation.

Le Secretaire d'Etat pour l'Amérique a ordonné au Gouverneur Hamilton au Detroit de meller tous les jeunes gens avec les differentes Nations Savages commissioner des officiers pour Conduire, leur fournir toutes choses necessaires et faire tout ce que dépendra de luy pour les exciter a assassiner les Habitants des frontieres des Etats unis de l'Ameriques lequel ordre ont été mi en Execution à un Conseil tenû avec les differentes nations Sauvages au Detroit le 17e au 24e jour du mois de Juin 1777. Les meutes et assassinations des femmes et enfants et les Degats et Ravages qui ont été commise crie Vengence à haute voix.

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* The "Oath of Vincennes" belongs to the Kaskaskia Records. For a description of these see *Ill. Hist. Collection*, II., *Introduction* CLI.

† Clark's *Memoir*, in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 488. I have used the account in Clark's *Memoir* rather than the earlier and more authoritative one in his letter to Mason, because it is more comprehensive and does not contradict the earlier statement.

Les etats unis ayant à present gagné la Desus sur leurs Ennemis Britannique Et leur Plenipotentiares ayant actuellement faite et concludes des Traites de Commerce et Alliance avec le Royaume de la France et autres nations puissantes de l'urope.

Son Excellence le Gouverneur de la Virginie m'a ordonné de reduire les différentes Postes à l'occident des Miamis avec une parti des troupes sous mon Commandement, pour empecher qu'on ne reponde davantage de Sang Innocent. Suivant lesquelles ordres J'ay pris possession de ce Fort et munitions de ce pais. Et j'ay fait publier une Proclamation offrant assistance et Protection à tous les Habitants, contre les Ennemis et les Traiter comme les Citoyens de la République de la Virginie (dans les limites de laquelle ils sont) et leurs garder leurs Personnes et Effets s'il est necessaire—à la sureté de quoy la foy du gouvernment est gagé pourvû qu'ils Donnent des preuves certaine de leur attachment aux Etats en pretant le Serment de fidelitié en Pareille cas requis, comme prescrit par la Loix et par tous les autres moyens qui leur sera possible, auxquelles offres ils ont volontairement succedés. J'ay été bien charmé de trouver par une Lettre ecrite par le gouverneur abbot à M. Rochblave que vous estes en general attaché à la cause de l'Amérique.

En concequence de quoy je vous invite tous d'accepter des offres cy depuis, et de jouir de toutes leurs privileges. S'y vous accédé à cette offre, vous Procéderes à la nomination d'un Commandant par choix ou l'Elexion, lequel levera un Compagnie, et Prendre Possession du Fort et de toutes les Munitions du Roy au nom des Etats Unis de l'Amerique pour la Republique de la Virginie et continuer à le defendre jusqu'a d'autres ordres.

La Personne ainsy nommé aura Rang de Capitaine et aura de Commission aussy tot qu'il sera possible et tirrera des Rasions et paye pour luy et sa compagnie depuis le temps qu'ils prendrons le Fort & ca en Possession et s'il est necessaire l'on fera de fortifications qui seront payée aussy par l'Etat.

J'ay l'honneur d'etre avec beaucoup de consideration messieurs

Votre tres Hble et tres obt serviteur, G. R. Clark.

Endorsed: Requete de Habitants du Poste de Vincennes au Colonel Clark de la Virginie. recue le 4m Decr. 1780.[1]

OATH OF VINCENNES.

Vous faitte Serment Sur Les ste Evengille du dieux toute puisent de renoncé a toute fidélité a gorge troy Roy de La grande Bretaigne Et Ses succeseurs Et d'aitre fidelle et vraie Seujaits de La Republique de Le Virginie comme un Etat Libre Et Independent et que Jamais Je Ne feray ni ne ferais faire auqunne Shousse ou matiere qui puisse prejudisiable a La Liberté ou Javertiray a quelqueuns des Juge de pay dudit Etat de toute trayzons ou conspirations qui viendras a ma connoissance contre La dit Etat ou quelqautre des Etat Unis de Lamerique En foy de qoy nous avons Signné au poste Vincenne Le 20ne Juilet 1778.

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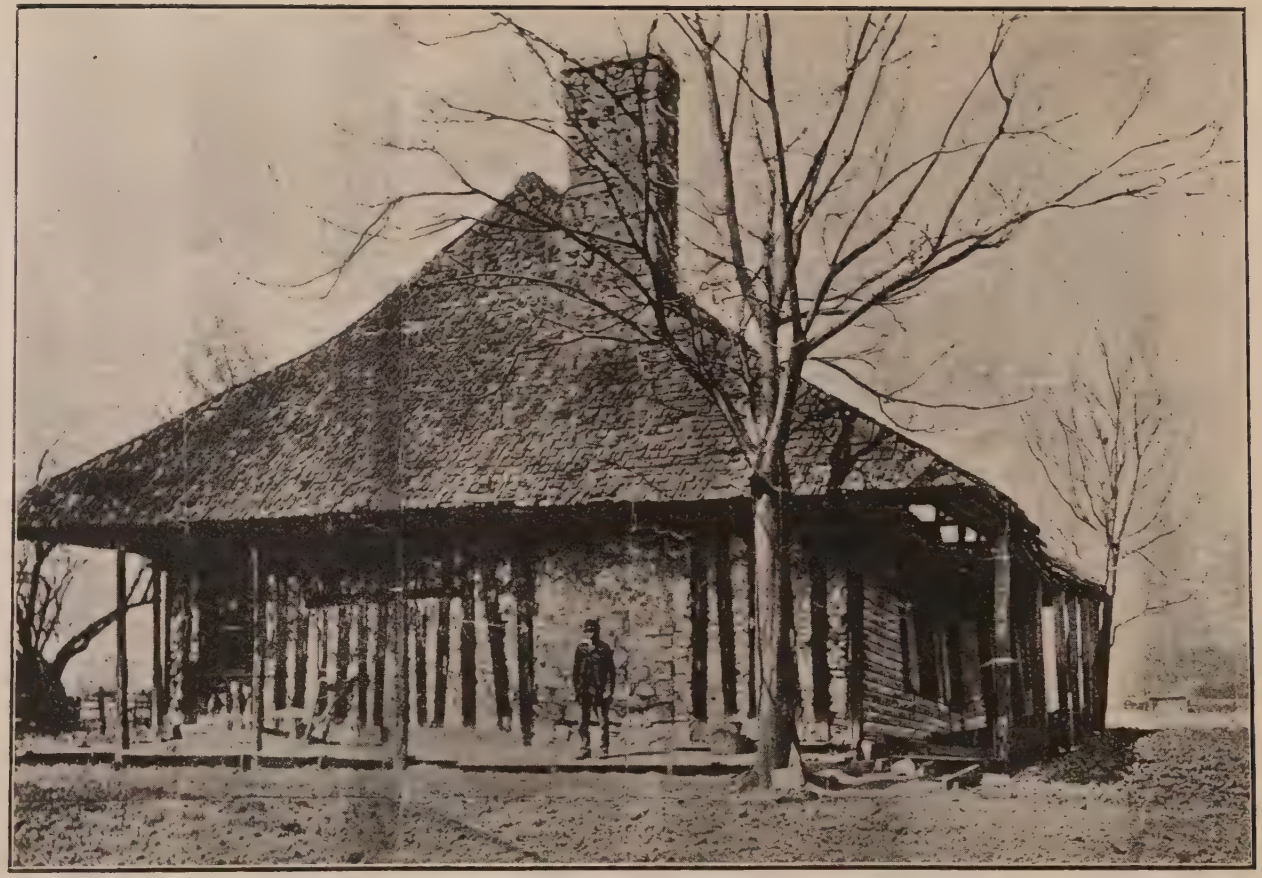
[1]Can. Archives, B., 184, vol. 2, 508.

VIVE LE CONGRES.

(1 The names follow the order of the first column, then the second, etc. The number are added for convenience of reference.)

1 Baullou [?][1]
2 Jean Bapte Cadin.
3 Piere Kerais [Querez ?]
4 fr. Bosseron.
5 Huberdeau.
6 Chine.
7 N. Perrot.
8 Delisle.
9 Laplente.
10 michel Brouilest.
11 Jacques Lacroix.
12 Endres Languedoc.
13 Jean Baptiste michliet.
14 Jauseph Lougat.
15 Endres St DeLise.
16 Embroise Dumais.
17 Jens Bertons pere
18 Jeane Bertons fils.
19 Rouel Bertiomme.
20 Jane Babtiste Durboy.
21 Charle Lamoureuse.
22 Jauseph Duroche.
23 Louis Crepoux.
24 Babtiste Harpins.
25 Louis Boy .
26 Louis Campeau.
27 Baptiste Sentira.
28 Entoine Boyri—[?]
29 Jauseph Lafleur.
30 Simon michon.
31 Pouis cappelet.
32 Entoine Bisonet.
33 antoine dugal.
34 jean marie boirée.
35 Louie Lavallé.
36 Guillaume daperon.
37 Louie haudet.
38 rené gauder.
39 Piere Rengé.
40 Michel Campeau.
41 Jean bte Lafréniere.
42 Jan bte vosdrés.
43 jean Babtiste Charpentier.
44 Jean bte carons.
45 piere Perons fise.
46 alexis Lavicharduirre.
47 J. M. Legras.
48 Le Grand. juge.
49 fransoy Rassinne.
50 Joseph Ducharme.
51 charle Villeneuve.
52 charle Bannaux.
53 guillaume Pages.
54 pier Coden.
55 Piere Cornoyre.
56 jean Baptiste St. aubin.
57 Phillibert Dit orleans.
58 Entoine dannis.
59 Ca Morin [very doubtful.]
60 jauseph duebee.
61 Entoine Catis.
62 Endre ortie.
63 Charle guilbeaux.
64 fransoy morins.
65 Jauseph st Louie.
66 Piere Parend.
67 thimoté demonbreun.
68 nicolias Bailliargon.
69 piere ambelleton.
70 frinsoy Languedoc.
71 frinsoy Bazinest.
72 Piere lajour.
73 Piere cartier.
74 Jacque dénis.
75 andre Roy.
76 nicolas chapard.
78 andré monplesir.
79 frinsoy baroy.
80 Jean bte hor——[?]
81 francois LaViolette.
82 amable Gaigne.
93 joph ———[?]
84 Jauseph Parend.
85 jacque Lamotte.
86 Morin.
87 Louie Brouilet.
88 Piere Laforest.
89 piere grimar.
90 amable deLille.
91
92 Four names completely
93 torn out.
94
95 Jan babtiste hodlet.

96 FranCois Ci Cote.
97 Jean Lamarine.
98 abram [?] gaigne.
99 Piere denis.
100 Hen—— canpeaux.
101 charle gielle.
102 francois malet.
103 Jauseph Lateuse.
104 amable garquipis.
105 frensoy truville.
106 piere Blanchard.
107 charle delille.
108 Joseph Reirux.
109 jauseph descoteaux.
110 Babtiste deshoribe.
111 Janbte st onge.
112 tousint goden.
113 Loui goden.
114 gabriel Casteaux [?]
115 alexis Belanger.
116 Pierre Gamelin.
117 Oliver sautier.
118 Xaxier [?] St. Chapatous.
119 Basile Cabat [or Labat.]
120 Miles Henry.
121 frinsoy Pakins.
122 frinsoy mercie.
123 frinsoy st. antoine.
124 frinsoy deshoriee.
125 Piere paipins.
126 Babtiste clement.
127 germene Clement.
128 Jauseph Clement.
129 Francois turpays [?]
130 Piere daignaux.
131 jean bt toutge.
132 piere st antoyne.
133 rene Codere.
134 Babtiste chartier.
135 charle Languedoc.
136 honorés Dannie.
137 Jacque Latrimouille.
138 abelle.
139 Marie.
140 Entoine goyaux.
141 frensoy st Piere.
142 Julien Canpeaux.
143 frensoy valiquels.
144 Jauseph Lhorand.
145 Entoine Bordeleaux.
146 michel nos.
147 Jean Lagarde.
148 Joseph ammelins.
149 Louie Biord.
150 piere verne.
151 Jan Louie dénoyons.
152 michel Charetier.
153 Louie mallet.
154 Jaque cardinal fis.
155 Jauseph charetier.
156 P. Barron.
157 Jean bte Berguins.
158 franssoy Bertiomme.
159 Babtiste vaudris.
160 alecSis La deroule.
161 francoise goderri.
162 Babtiste Duboy.
163 andre aleo.
164 antoine gogiets.
165 dominique Bergand.
166 amable Perons.
167 Louie deslorie.
168 Antoine de Bucherville.
169 Charlle dominique.
170 Jauseph Baziné.
171 alecSix gaignolest.
172 Louie l'evrond.
173 jaque Endrés.
174 frensoy Peltier.
175 Jaques gidon (?)
176 Jn bte Chabot.
177 Chalbaunause.
178 fransoy Boucher.
179 baneau (ms torn out).
180 Entoine malest.
181 nicolas Cardinal.
182 fransoy fouris.



THE OLD CAHOKIA COURT HOUSE.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ILLINOIS, 1790-1799.

By May Allinson, University of Illinois.

During the years, 1783 to 1787, the great western territory lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi had come under the control of the government of the United States. By the treaty of Paris, September 3, 1788, Great Britain formally renounced her claims to this territory and during the years, 1784 to 1786, the older states which laid claim to the northwest territory had been induced, one by one, to renounce their disputed ancient rights.

The cession of the Northwest Territory cast upon the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, already overburdened with the difficult problems which arose for solution, a new and most difficult task—that of providing some form of government and protection for a vast region, far from the seat of government; a territory sparsely populated with hostile Indians and a few thousand Frenchmen whose needs were little appreciated by the members of Congress.

From 1783 to 1787, various plans for the disposal and government of this western territory were taken under consideration and during these years was gradually evolved the policy for the government of the territories of the United States. The territorial policy was based on two fundamental principles; [1] the maintenance of the territory for the common benefit of all the states; and [2] the gradual development by successive stages from the colonial state of political dependence on the mother country to independent self-governing states of the union.

April 23, 1784, a plan drafted by Jefferson was presented for the consideration of Congress and passed. The ordinance of 1784, which formed the basis for the later ordinance of 1787, offered a method for the establishment of a temporary and later a permanent government for the territory, but left the creation of local government to the future.* The ordinance, therefore, had no practical results and, during the years 1784-87, the Illinois country was left to itself while Congress sought to solve the problems demanding immediate solution. May 20, 1785, Congress passed the Grayson or Land Ordinance of 1785 providing for the immediate survey and division of the eastern part of the territory into townships six miles square and laying the foundation for the system of land surveys in use in the western states today.

* Journals of Congress, IX, 118.

During these years, Kaskaskia had been the scene of great disorder and confusion. Immigration of frontiersmen had resulted in racial antagonisms and quarrels which caused the dissolution, in 1782, of the court established by Todd.* From 1782-1786, John Dodge, an unscrupulous American with no authority, had ruled through sheer force, until finally driven out of the country.† Cahokia, sixty miles to the north, undisturbed by Americans, continued to maintain the civil government established by Todd in 1779 and enforced law and order.‡

The frequent petitions of the French inhabitants of the Illinois country, however, had not allowed Congress to forget the necessity of providing some government and protection for these distant settlements. As early as 1784, the Committee of Congress to whom these petitions had been referred, recommended and outlined the essential characteristics of a temporary government for Kaskaskia.§.

August 24, 1786, the secretary of Congress was ordered to pacify the "inhabitants of Kaskaskies," by informing them "that Congress have under their consideration the plan of a temporary government for the said district, and that its adoption will be no longer protracted than the importance of the subject and a due regard to their interest may require."‖

Congress, however, had found that "The government of the settlement on the Illinois and Wabash is a subject very perplexing in itself, and rendered more so by our ignorance of many circumstances on which a right judgment depends. The inhabitants at those places claim protection against the savages and some provision for both criminal and civil justice. It also appears that land-jobbers are among them, who are likely to multiply litigations among individuals, and by collusive purchases of spurious titles, to defraud the United States.¶

April 24, 1787, Congress passed a resolution at the urgent request of the Virginia representatives, that an officer and troops should be established at Vincennes to assist in maintaining order in the west. Two days later, the Secretary of War ordered General Harmar, in charge of the United States troops at Fort Harmar, to move the greater part of his force to the Wabash country, "to protect the inhabitants from the lawless banditti, as the French inhabitants at Vincennes and Kaskaskia were complaining of the lawless troops of George Rogers Clark and of the Indians, by both of whom they had been plundered and left in poverty."**

In the summer of 1787, Congress again took under consideration the question of the Northwest Territory, and, through pressure from the promoters of the Ohio Land Company, passed the Ordinance of 1787. This document, the Constitution for the Northwest Territory, set forth the principles of territorial government which are still in force in our territories.

It provided for a governor appointed by Congress, [after 1789 by the President with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senate,]

*Ill. Hist. Coll. II, Introduction, CVII.
†Ibid CXXVII and CXXXIV.
‡Ibid, Introduction.
§Papers of Old Congress, June 8, 1784.
‖Journals of Congress, IX, 146.
¶Madison to Jefferson, April 23, 1785, in Dunn., Indiana 200.
**Journals of Congress, XII and XIII, 40.

for a term of three years; a secretary appointed in the same way for a term of four years, and later authorized by act of Congress to execute all powers and duties of the Governor in case of his death, resignation, removal or necessary absence from the territory; his primary duty was to keep a record of the proceedings of the various departments of the territorial government and transmit copies of such every six months to the Secretary of Congress. Three judges were to be appointed by the Governor, any two of whom might form a court and have common law jurisdiction.

Three stages of government were provided by the Ordinance, the first of which, alone, comes within our period, 1790 to 1799.

The first stage, a temporary government, vested the legislative authority in the Governor and judges, who should "adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original states, civil and criminal as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district." These were to be reported to Congress and continue in force until the organization of a General Assembly unless disapproved by Congress. The Legislature might, when formed in the territory, have authority to alter them as it deemed best.

During this period, the Governor was empowered to appoint all magistrates and other civil officers in each county and township necessary for the preservation of peace and order. He was empowered to establish courts, civil and criminal,* and to lay out, into counties and townships, those parts of the district in which the Indian titles had been extinguished.

In the first or colonial stage of government, therefore, there was no provision for representation. The territory was subjected to an absolute government, imposed by an external authority and in which the people had no share. In place of the royal governor of the colony was a governor appointed by Congress, and instead of judges appointed by royal authority, were territorial judges appointed by Congress.

A hasty glance at the rest of the ordinance shows the second stage of government, a compromise between self government and federal control. Provision is made for a governor and council appointed by Congress and an elected assembly [franchise based on property and residence qualifications] when a population of five thousand free male inhabitants of full age was acquired. When a population of sixty thousand was reached, the territory was entitled to the third stage or self-government and admission as a state.† The so-called articles of compact provided for [1] religious freedom, [2] all cardinal guarantees of life, liberty and property, [3] encouragement of schools and means of education, [4] prohibition of slavery.

By special provision, the French and Canadian inhabitants of the villages on the Ohio and Mississippi, who had professed themselves citizens of Virginia were guaranteed "their laws and customs, now in force among them relative to the descent and conveyance of property."‡

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*For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal, the governor shall make proper division thereof."—Ordinance of 1787.

†Professor E. B. Greene, Lectures.

‡MacDonald, Select Documents, 22. Journals of Congress, XII and XIII, 58.

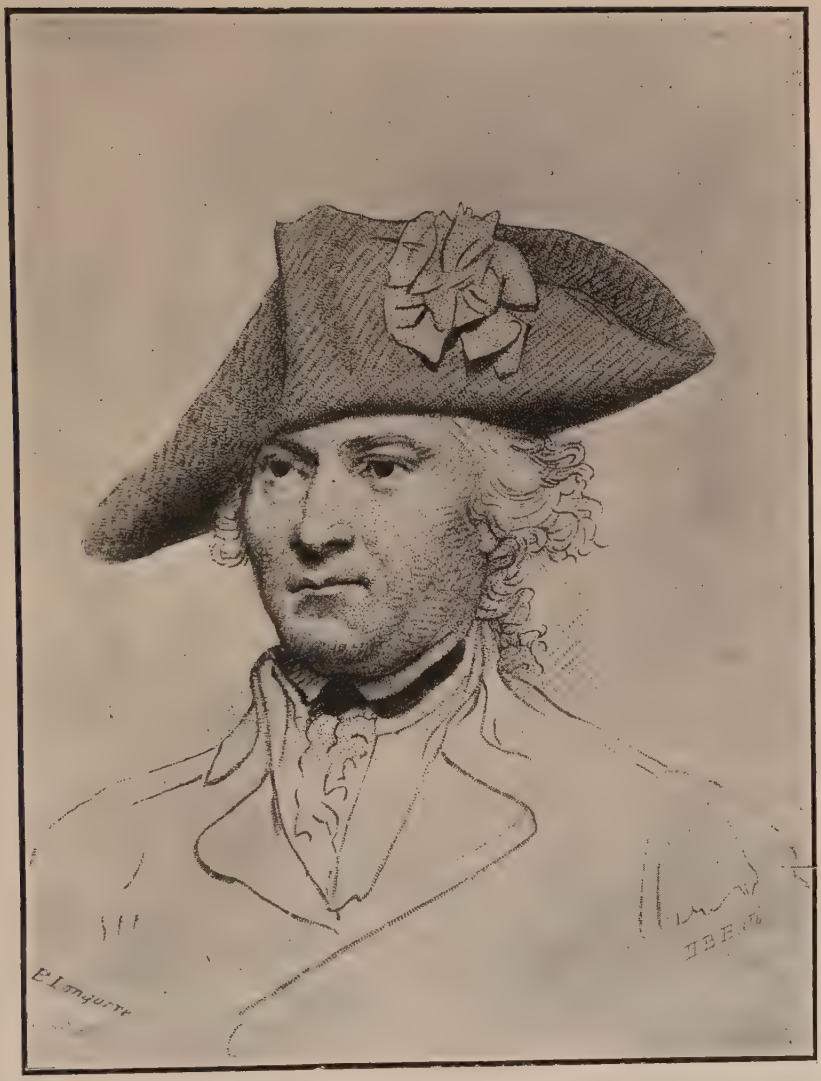
February 1, 1788, the officers for the Northwest Territory were appointed by Congress. General Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the territory, was a Scotchman, educated at the University of Edinburg. He had seen military service as a British soldier in the French and Indian War, and as an American soldier in the American Revolution. He was president of the Continental Congress in 1786 when the Ordinance for the Northwest Territory became a law,§ and was now entrusted with its execution. Winthrop Sargent was appointed secretary; Samuel Holden Parsons, James Mitchell Varnum and John Cleves Symmes, judges.

The Governor first occupied himself with the settlement of the Indian problems of the Northwest Territory, but before the end of the year, he and the judges assembled at Marietta, [which had been established in April by some of the members of the Ohio Land Company] and, in their legislative capacity, adopted the laws, relating chiefly to the establishment and regulation of the militia, organization of the courts and rules of procedure, and definition of crimes and punishments. The whipping post and pillory occupied a prominent place in the punishment for crime, and cursing and swearing were strongly discouraged. This code was not drawn up, however, without long and heated discussions as to the limitations and powers of this legislative body. St. Clair stood for strict construction of the ordinance, believing they were entitled only to "adopt * * * laws of the original States," and that laws could be found in the codes of the different states to cover all cases which might arise.† The judges, nevertheless, insisted that it "ought to be liberally expounded," since it was meant for the public good and there were exigencies in a colonial government which could not be met by any existing laws in the old states.‡ The judges gained their point and laws were framed which had no counterpart in any of the existing codes.

The years 1788 and 1789 passed by and still St. Clair was occupied with the Indian problems and unable to leave for the Mississippi Valley to establish the promised government. Frequent appeals from Illinois came to Congress and to Major Hamtramck at Vincennes. Congress repeatedly urged St. Clair to go as soon as possible to Illinois, but he was detained at Marietta by the negotiations with the Indians.

During these years, Kaskaskia reached her lowest depths. Factions and internal strife, increased by racial antagonism and foreign intrigues, caused the dissolution of the temporary court established at Kaskaskia in 1787. The general anarchy resulting from the overthrow of government and the circulation of the report that all slaves would be freed when the promised government was established in Illinois, caused a general emigration of the majority of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia across the river to the Spanish shore. As a result, Kaskaskia in 1790 had a population of only forty-five families [of which five were American], and about eighty-two additional militiamen [of which fifteen or sixteen were American], showing a decrease of over seventy-

§Smith, St. Clair Papers, I.
†Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 67. ‡Ibid, 69.



GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR,

Governor of the Northwest Territory.

five per cent during the years 1783-1790.* Prairie du Rocher† had less than two-thirds its population of 1783. Cahokia, however, had maintained its strong government and, in 1790, had a population of over one hundred families [almost entirely French] and also drew under its protection the small American villages of Bellefontaine and Grand Ruisseau.‡

In this state of affairs, Governor St. Clair found Illinois when he arrived in Kaskaskia, March 5, 1790. Many problems were forced upon the attention of the Governor. One of the most important questions for which the people demanded a definite and immediate explanation was the status of slaves in Illinois. Slavery had existed in Illinois since the early part of the eighteenth century. Virginia, in 1779, had guaranteed all the rights and titles of the inhabitants, and, in the deed of cession of 1784, the French inhabitants were again confirmed in their titles and possessions. Yet the Ordinance of 1787 had promised that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the territory. This clause had caused a good deal of alarm among the French slave-holders and caused many to emigrate to the Spanish shore. Tardiveau, agent of the French inhabitants, had discussed the provision with several members of Congress and pointed out the consternation it would produce among the inhabitants of the Illinois country." He pointed out the illegality of an "*ex-post facto* law, the operation of which would deprive a considerable number of citizens of their property, acquired and enjoyed before they were under the dominion of the United States. These members "sensible of the justice of my statement, * * * remarked that the intention of the obnoxious resolution had been solely to prevent the future importation of slaves into the Federal country; that it was not meant to affect the rights of the ancient inhabitants and promised to have a clause inserted in it explanatory of its real meaning, sufficient to ease the apprehensions of the people."§

St. Clair, realized the importance of pacifying the remaining French inhabitants and the desirability of inducing those who had emigrated to the Spanish side to return,‖ and so accepted the interpretation of the slavery provision as it had been explained to the Illinois people by Tardiveau.

The settlement of land claims and other problems occupied the attention of the Governor until April 27, when he issued a proclamation creating the county of St. Clair, which comprised a large part of the present state of Illinois. Its boundaries were defined as "Beginning at the mouth of the little Michilmackinack River, running thence southerly in a direct line to the mouth of the little river about Fort Massac, on the Ohio River, thence with the Ohio to its junction with the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois River, and so up the Illinois River to the place of beginning.¶

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*Chicago Historical Society Coll. IV. 222.
†A small French village some twelve miles north of Kaskaskia.
‡See Alvord. Illinois Hist Coll. II. Introduction CXL and CXLV.
§Smith. St. Clair Papers, II, 117.
‖Smith. St. Clair Papers, II. 175.
¶Ibid, 165, Note.

The people of Illinois were subjected to a double authority, local and territorial. The highest or territorial court consisted of the three judges appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate. This might be termed a federal court since its judges were appointed and paid by the federal government. Besides its legislative functions, the territorial court was vested with original and appellate jurisdiction in all civil, criminal, and capital cases. It was a court of last resort, having power to revise and reverse the decisions of all other tribunals in the territory, while its own proceedings could not be reversed or set aside even by the Supreme Court of the United States. It sat in Cincinnati in March, Marietta in October and in the western country whenever the judges saw fit to designate.* The salary of the judges was only eight hundred dollars and the hardships of travel in the wilderness were so great that the judges seldom reached Illinois.

The county courts established in Illinois by St. Clair consisted of a court of common pleas, general quarter sessions, justices of the peace, and a probate court, as provided by the territorial laws of 1788.† St. Clair said a good deal of his difficulty was in finding men capable of filling the official positions, and this was doubtless true as there had been an almost continuous stream of emigration across the Mississippi ever since Illinois had come under American control. Yet the courts, as finally established, consisted of men of prominence, judicial experience, and some who had seen something of the world. They, also, represented fairly the different racial elements as well as the different parts of the country, and, although there were few Americans holding official positions, there were men in the courts who would represent their interests.

The court of common pleas consisted of five justices appointed and commissioned by the governor. They met four times‡ a year and exercised jurisdiction in all civil courts with right of appeal to the territorial court. Jean Baptiste Barbau, who had had the longest public career, was a member of the French gentry, about sixty-eight years old, a prominent inhabitant of Prairie du Rocher, and had served in the courts of the British and Virginia periods.§ In 1786, he became lieutenant of the county, used his influence for law and order and encouraged the Kaskaskians in establishing their government in 1787.‖ Antoine Girardin, was also a Frenchman and one of the most prominent citizens of Prairie du Pont,¶ of which he was commandant. He had served as justice in Clark's court, and in that of the district of Cahokia during the years 1779-1790, acting as president of the court the last years.** John Edgar was a native of Ireland, an officer of the British navy on the Great Lakes, and resided at Detroit when the American Revolution broke out. His sympathy

*Burnet's Notes, 63.
†Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 80. Note list of laws.
‡According to the territorial law of Nov. 6, 1790. See Dillon, Indiana, 298. List of laws.
§Kaskaskia Records, Political Papers, May. 19, 1779.
‖Ibid May 18, 1787.
¶A small village about a mile south of Cahokia.
**Ill. Hist. Coll., II, 632. Note 100.

for the American cause, led to his arrest and imprisonment, from which he escaped and in 1784, arrived in Kaskaskia where he proved the mainstay of the inhabitants during the troublous times of the following six years. Philip Engel was a native of Germany, and served as justice in the court of the District of Cahokia during the years 1785 to 1790.* John Dumoulin was a native of Switzerland, who, if we may accept Reynolds, was a man of some education and legal training.† William St. Clair, appointed prothonotary and clerk of the court, was the youngest son of Earl of Roslin, a former resident of Detroit, and a cousin of Governor St. Clair and came to Illinois in 1790.

The court of General Quarter Sessions had much the same characteristic as the English Sessions exercising criminal jurisdiction, [in cases not involving life, long imprisonment or forfeiture of property], and general administrative authority in the country. This court consisted of John Edgar, Philip Engel, Antonine Girardin and Antonie Louviere. The personnel of the common pleas and quarter sessions was much the same, the first three men serving in a double capacity. Louvieres, was a prominent citizen of Prairie du Rocher and a member of the court of Kaskaskia from 1779-1781.‡

Five justices of the peace, three Frenchmen and two Americans, were appointed for the ordinary duties of a peace magistrate out of sessions, with authority to determine petty offenses punishable by fine. Francois Trottier, Baptiste Saucier, and Francois Janis, were members of the French gentry.§ The first two had served as justices in the court of Cahokia, and Janis in the court of Kaskaskia during the Virginia period. Nicholas Smith was an American inhabitant of Kankaskia in 1781 and later served as justice of the peace in Bellefontaine and Grand Ruisseau.‖ James Piggot was a native of Connecticut who had served in the Revolutionary War and followed Clark to the Illinois country.

Barthelemy Tardiveau, a new comer in Kaskaskia, was made probate judge, an office which Governor St. Clair regarded as requiring "the most delicate consideration as the whole property of the people is eventually involved in their being duly executed."¶ Little is known of Tardiveau's early life. He had lived sometime in Holland** and came to the western country about 1780,†† where he and his brother Pierre,

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*Illinois Hist. Coll., II. 631. Note 631.

†"Being a classic scholar in Europe, he understood well the civil law and was a good lawyer, although he did not practice in the courts. He practiced law to great advantage in his business and was well versed in the science of land speculation." *Reynolds' Pioneer History,* 173. John Reynolds, who came to Illinois in 1800, a boy of twelve and the son of a Tennessee frontiersman, has left in his books the only available information concerning some of the early settlers of Illinois. Reynolds was not a critical or even a reliable historian, and his statements must be accepted with this in mind. His youth during this period, his narrow experience, and the long interval between the time of which he writes and the time he wrote his books, make his histories untrustworthy. They are chiefly valuable in that they probably reflect the sentiment and impressions of the average American settler in Illinois.

‡Kaskaskia Records.

§Alvord, Ill. Hist. Coll. II, Introduction see index.

‖Ibid, CXXII. 307.

¶Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 67.

**Menard Collection, Tardiveau Papers, 1796.

††"General Archives of the Indies, Seville." A transcript in possession of Mr. Louis Houck Cape Girardeau, Mo., dated 1792, says Tardiveau had been in "this country" fifteen years. There is a receipt in the Menard Collection of the "Tardiveau fieres" dated 1784.

as the *"Tardiveau freres,"* were engaged in the peltry trade. In 1787, Barthelemy had escorted Col. Harmar on his tour of inspection through the Illinois settlements and impressed Harmar as "a sensible, well-informed gentleman, as well if not better acquainted with the western country (particularly the Illinois) than any one who has ever been from thence to Congress,"* though the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia declared he knew nothing of actual conditions there.† During the next three years he was the messenger and spokesman of the French inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley to Congress. Both men seem to have entered to some extent into the agitation over the Mississippi question.‡ Barthelemy was in communication the next few years with prominent Frenchmen§ and with the Spanish government at Madrid‖ and New Orleans¶ regarding French colonization schemes in the Mississippi Valley. His strength of character is shown by the way in which he ingratiated himself into the favor of such men as Hamtramck,** Harmar,†† Governor St. Clair,‡‡ and Governor Carondelet,§§ the Spanish Governor at New Orleans.

William Biggs, an inhabitant of Cahokia was appointed sheriff of the county. His capture and captivity under the Kickapoos in 1788 and final ransom made him a hero among the people.

In establishing civil government in Illinois, St. Clair abandoned, from necessity, the principle for which he had contended so strongly in the controversies with the territorial judges. In 1787, he had insisted on strict construction of the Ordinance in legislative matters, but, in 1790, he found himself forced to adopt loose construction for the administrative problems of the Illinois country. He found it impossible to establish the courts according to law because of the sparsity of population, the distance of the villages from each other, and an insufficient population in any to make of it a distinct county. Justice, he believed, could not be administered if the sessions of the courts were confined to any one place. He, therefore, divided the county into three judicial districts, "though not strictly warranted by law" and distributed the judges so as "to make the holding of that court practicable."‖‖ He ordered that a session of the court of Quarter Session and Probate Court should be held in each district, but all as sessions of the same

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*Smith, St. Clair Papers II, 30.

†Alvord, Ill. Hist. Coll., II, Introduction CXXXVII.

‡September 17, 1787, Charles Gratiot wrote Barthelemy Tardiveau to instruct the messenger with whom he had sent letters to General Wilkinson not to send them but in case he has, "If you see the General tell him to send no one here for the affairs which he proposed to me, as I shall not be at home". (Menard Coll. Tardiveau Papers.) Pierre Tardiveau was appointed interpreter-in-chief by Michaux, the French scientist, in the service of Genet, 1793.

§In a letter, April 17, 1793 of Delassus, Tardiveau and Audrian to Carondelet, they say Tardiveau will atttempt to secure the aid of "his friends, Comte de Brehan, (formerly a minister of France) and the Marquise de Brehan" in establishing a French colony on the Spanish shore. —Transcript from General Archives of the Indies, in possession of Mr. Louis Houck.

‖B. Tardiveau to Count Aranda, July 17, 1792, presenting French colonization schemes. Transcript from General Archives of the Indies, Seville, belonging to Mr. Houck.

¶Letters dated April 10, 17, 26, Sept. 21, 1793, in possession of Mr. Houck and the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Menard Papers, Tardiveau Collection, 1793.

**Menard Collection, Tardiveau Papers, Audrian to Delassus.

††Denny's Military Journal, 463. Smith, St. Clair, Papers II, 32.

‡‡Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 409.

§§Menard Collection, Tardiveau Papers. Tardiveau to Audrian.

‖‖Smith, St. Clair Papers, 172.

court. The probate judge and prothonotary were directed to appoint deputies and open offices in each district. John Edgar was appointed chief justice of Kaskaskia, Jean Baptiste Barbau of Prairie du Rocher, and John Dumoulin, of Cahokia. In actual practice, the three districts naturally tended toward a more or less separate and independent existence as during the British and Virginia periods. Early writers* say that while the judges and sheriff had jurisdiction throughout the county, the citizens could not be sued out of their district, writs were dated at these three villages and ran within their respective districts. The records of legal transactions, such as sales of land, marriage contracts, promissory notes, etc., for all three villages are found in one common record book† which shows still the recognition of the principle of a centralized government.

This act of the Governor was criticized both by Jefferson, Secretary of State, and by Washington. Jefferson regarded it as "beyond the competence of the executive of said government * * amounted in fact to laws and as such could only flow from its regular legislature."‡ Washington wrote St. Clair that although "the necessity of the case offered an excuse for having exceeded your proper powers," more circumspection should be used in the future.§

In virtue of the Governor's proclamation of April 27, and under St. Clair's supervision, the courts of common pleas and quarter session assembled at Cahokia, May 1790. Commissions of the justices were read and the courts organized.‖ Not until June 12, did Francois Carbonneaux, the notary of the Virginia period, transfer to William St. Clair the records and public papers of the recorder's office at Kaskaskia.¶ St. Clair's administrative duties in Illinois, however, were cut short by the increasing hostilties of the Indians throughout the Northwest. On June 11, 1790, he left the Illinois country for Fort Harmar and the responsibility of governments fell upon the newly organized courts.

Our knowledge of the court of Kaskaskia over which John Edgar presided as chief justice is, at present, exceedingly meagre, although it is possible that further investigations may throw more light on the subject.** William St. Clair, clerk of the court, wrote in June 1793, "we have no organized government whatever. Our courts are in a deplorable state; no order is kept in the interior and many times not held. Prairie du Rocher had no court this some time, and Kaskaskia has failed before. The magistrates have taken it upon themselves to set it going

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*Reynolds, Pioneer History, 147. Davidson and Stuvé, History of Illinois, 213.
†Record *A*, of St. Clair County.
‡Jefferson's Writings, (Ford ed.) V. 260.
§Smith. St. Clair Papers, II, 199.
‖Court Docket, May 1790, January, 1791; Issuing Docket, Common Pleas, Court house at Belleville, Illinois.
¶Record A, St. Clair County, Belleville, Ill.
**There is in the circuit clerk's office at Chester, Ill., a large box containing a great collection of papers bound in bundles, regardless of date, character or subject, and ranging in time from 1734 to 1860 (and later), which may possibly contain information of value. These have never been carefully examined, and few of them opened or unfolded. A cursory glance through them shows that they consist of all kinds of court and legal papers. At present there are no record books for the period between 1782-1797 in the collection at Chester, although the court records from 1800 are very full and apparently quite complete.

again. I think they will again fail. The prospect is gloomy."* In the light of this letter, Kaskaskia would seem to have repeated, during these first five years, its history of the Virginia period.† Tardiveau, probate judge, went to New Orleans in 1792 to negotiate a colonial and commercial scheme with the Spanish government, returned in 1793, gave up his position, and moved to New Madrid on the Spanish shore to advance the establishment of a Spanish‡ colony at this post. The weakness of the government at Kaskaskia may be partially due to the fact that during these five years, the government of the county seems to have centered in Cahokia which, again as during the Virginia period, enforced law and order, and maintained its courts, transacting a surprising amount of judicial and administrative business.

The records of the Court of Quarter Sessions are the more complete and show this court sitting and transacting business every year during this period.§ In the court of Quarter Sessions both the grand jury and traverse [petty] jury were employed. The court had a two fold character, judicial and administrative. It concerned itself with criminal matters which came before it and also the various subjects relating to the public interests and general welfare of the community, such as trade with the Indians, general oversight of roads, fences, bridges, care of the poor, appropriations for public officers, licenses for merchants, traders, etc. We find in the records of the quarter sessions an order for the translation of the territorial laws into the French language in order that the French justices might understand and interpret them; again in 1794, an order for holding in the court room a school for instruction of the youth for one month according to a petition from the inhabitants.

The records of the court of common pleas are less complete, but still show the dispatch and trial of a great many cases. The records for the district of Cahokia show no use of the grand jury in the court of common pleas. All the cases are between individuals and only the traverse or petty jury is employed. Although the records of Kaskaskia for this period are as yet too few to generalize on this question, those of the next decade, 1800-1810, show the use of the grand jury in the trial of cases of the United States versus individuals as well as the petty jury in cases between individuals in the court of common pleas.

It is of interest to notice that the records of the two courts, common pleas and quarter sessions were kept distinct from each other and in separate record books. So, although some of the judges served in both courts, there seems to have been no attempt to coalesce the duties of the two into one court.

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*Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 311.

†For detailed discussion see Alvord, Ill. Historical Coll. II, Introduction.

‡Menard Coll., Tardiveau Papers.

§Court Records of St. Clair County—*Court of Quarter Sessions*—1790, May, July, August; 1791, January; 1792, March, May, Aug., Sept., Oct., Dec.; 1793, Jan., May, Aug., Oct.; 1794, Jan. Feb., May, Aug.; 1795, July; 1796, Jan., May, July, Oct.; 1797, Jan., Feb., April, May, June. July, Aug.; 1798, Feb., April, July, Oct.; 1799, Feb., April and July. *Court of Common Pleas*—1790, April, Oct.; 1791, May, July, Aug., Oct.; 1792, ——; 1793, July; 1794, Feb.; 1795, July, Oct; 1796, Feb., April, July; 1797, Feb., April, July, Oct.; 1798, Feb., April, July, Oct.; 1799, Feb., April, July.—Records of St. Clair county court house, Belleville, Ill.

The first sessions of the county courts were held in a private dwelling house in Cahokia. In 1793, this building with its surrounding tract of land was purchased by the judges, Antoine Girardin, John Dumoulin and Philip Engel, for one thousand dollars and converted into a court house and prison in compliance with the territorial law of 1792, directing the establishment of a court house and county jail.

In the meantime, the people of Illinois were not forgotten by St. Clair and the judges, who, in 1790, had passed a law providing that sessions of the general or territorial court should be held at specified times at Vincennes [Knox county], Kaskaskia [St. Clair county], Cincinnati [Hamilton county], and Marietta [Washington county].* Three years had slipped by but in April, 1793, St. Clair wrote to Judge George Turner, one of the territorial judges, telling† him that the time for holding the session of the supreme or territorial court in the western counties was near at hand, and asking him if he could be there in time for that purpose.‡ Judge Turner promised to go, and reached Kaskaskia in October, 1794, although the month of June was the time provided by law for the holding court in Kaskaskia.

Judge George Turner, the first territorial judge to hold court in Illinois,§ was apparently a man of strong convictions which he would carry out regardless of existing conditions or public opinion. While at Vincennes, he had become involved in a quarrel with Judge Vanderburgh, judge of the probate court, over the status of some negroes. In attempting to carry out his views that they were "free by the Constitution of the Territory * * * and now held * * * as slaves," he had been defied by the inhabitants, and, upon attempting to punish the offenders, had met with forcible resistance.‖

Probably in a resentful frame of mind toward these French inhabitants of the territory, Judge Turner arrived at Kaskaskia. The government of Kaskaskia, if we may accept William St. Clair's report, no doubt presented a most discouraging aspect and Turner attempted to right things according to his own ideas in a peremptory and arbitrary way. He ordered that the county records hitherto kept by William St. Clair, be moved at once to Kaskaskia, which he claimed was the county seat. St. Clair resisted the order, and the judge removed the records from his control, placing them in charge of a Mr. Jones. St. Clair then sent in his resignation to Secretary Sargent.¶ Turner insisted on holding court at Kaskaskia "unknown to and contrary to the laws of this territory," so the inhabitants claimed, "and at the extremity of the population of the country and compelling a great number of the good people of the county to attend thereat, as well suitors as jurors and civil officers of the county, thereat absenting themselves from their abodes, and exposing many families to the ravages of hostile Indians, and to the great loss and damage of the

*Dillon, Indiana, 297. Territorial Statutes, 1790-2.
†Appointed to fill vacancy caused by death of Judge Varnum, Jan. 10, 1789.
‡Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 311.
§So far as present records reveal to us.
‖Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 318, 325, 326, 342.
¶Ibid, 340.

good people by heavy charges that attended the majority travelling sixty-six miles to attend that court. Heavy fines [were] set and levied by the said court * * * and the people grieved in various other ways by suits and prosecutions in the same court, attended with very heavy charges." He denied "us, as we conceived, the rights reserved to us by the Constitution of the Territory, to-wit, the laws and customs heretofore used in regard to descent and conveyance of property, in which the French and Canadian inhabitants conceive the language an essential."*

Turner also meddled in Indian and trade affairs, confiscating the boat and cargo of Drouard, an old French settler in Illinois, on the ground that he was carrying on illegal trade.† Other serious charges were made against Turner,‡ and whether true or not, the fact remained that the people of Illinois were soon in a turmoil, and had received an unfortunate impression of the justice and dignity of the government which Turner represented.

Governor St. Clair attempted to restore justice and appease the inhabitants by reprimanding Judge Turner and disavowing his acts. He ordered St. Clair to take immediate possession of the county records, since he, as the only legal notary, was responsible for them and the office of register of deeds could not be executed by deputy. Governor St. Clair did not support Turner in his belief that the government should center in Kaskaskia§ since there was "no one acknowledged county town," and showed an extreme lack of sympathy with the judge,‖ even suggesting to William St. Clair that it "might not be improper if a petition to Congress were set on foot, setting forth that Judge Turner has held a session of the Supreme Court at which some oppressive things were done, contrary to law;" and since, according to law, court was to be held in Kaskaskia in June, Turner's "proceedings are all void in themselves; for a court though held by the proper officers, if held at different time than that appointed by law, is in truth no court."

Governor St. Clair wrote to Edmund Randolph, "This is a very extended country and from a variety of causes would require the eye and hand of the executive in every part of it, but as that is impossible at all times. Judge Turner seems to take some of the trouble upon himself. The country on the Mississippi and Wabash is now in that sit-

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*American State Papers, Miscellaneous, I, 151.

†Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 372.

‡American State Papers, Miscellaneous, I, 151.

§"As there is no law to compel the register to keep the records at any particular place in the county, and as there are three towns in the county appointed by law for the sessions of the courts, there is no one in particular the acknowledged county town. You are therefore at liberty to keep your office in any part of the county that may not be inconvenient to the people, and Judge Turner was wrong in supposing he had a power to fix a place, and still farther wrong in exerting it, to oblige you to fix it in any particular place." Governor St. Clair to William St. Clair, June 3, 1795. *Smith, St. Clair Papers,* II., 372.

‖In a letter to William St. Clair, Governor St. Clair says: "What happened as respects yourself need give you no trouble, as the prosecution against you was evidently malicious and evidently calculated to justify his other proceedings against you. When the proceedings of the court are set aside, which they must be, you may recover ample damages against ———." *Smith, St. Clair Papers,* II., 372.

uation that the presence of the Governor is indispensable."* He determined to go to Illinois as soon as possible "to prevent the subversion of all order if not its complete ruin."

St. Clair was delayed in Cincinnati for a time by the session of the territorial legislature which sat from May 29 to August 25, and drew up an elaborate code of thirty-eight laws adopted from the various states,† thirty-four of which were taken from the codes of northern states, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, and two from a southern state, Virginia.‡ It was said by a contemporary periodical that "in regard to these laws, which are almost a literal transcript of the adopted statutes, the legislative power conferred by the Ordinance seems to have been very strictly pursued."§ The former laws were still treated as existing, though their validity was questioned until 1799, when they were re-enacted by the Legislature on recommendation of the Governor.

The experience of Judge Turner in Illinois had shown the dangers of the supplementary statute which made one of the judges of the territorial court competent to hold court without appeal. St. Clair wrote to Randolph‖ urging the repeal of the law and the adoption of some method by which decisions of the Supreme Court in the territory could be appealed to the federal court, which would bring the people into closer connection with and affection for the federal government.¶ Governor St. Clair and Judge Symmes set out for the Illinois country in August and arrived in Kaskaskia in September, 1795. They immediately took up the controversies raised by Turner; some were dismissed, the decisions of some cases reversed, and an attempt made to restore order and tranquility.

Two cases of more than local interest, the murder of some Indians by inhabitants of Illinois, came before the court of St. Clair and Symmes. Early in 1795, the band of Whitesides, an inhabitant of New Design,** and a bitter enemy of the Indians, took by surprise a camp of Indians and killed a large number.†† In February of the same year, two Potowattomies under arrest were being taken to jail by the sheriff when they were attacked near Bellefontaine in broad daylight and murdered in the presence of the officers.‡‡ Such hostilities intensified the racial animosity and greatly complicated the difficulties of General Wayne and other federal officers in the northwest. Wayne

*Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 350.

†The House of Representatives in its last session had passed a bill disapproving all the laws enacted by this Territorial Legislature, on the ground that "the governor and judges have no power by the constitution of the government to make laws, but only adopt and publish such laws of the original states as should appear to them best fitted to the circumstances of the inhabitants." The Senate rejected the bill, but seemingly on the ground that "as they considered them all *ipso facto void*, they thought it improper to declare any of them so by any act of the legislature" (Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 350.) The matter of making new laws or adoption of old ones was still discussed *pro* and *con*, but the legislature was henceforth more careful in their legistation and stated from what code each law was taken.

‡Dillon, Indiana, 375, List of laws.

§Indiana Historical Collections II, 12.

‖"The people," Governor St. Clair wrote, "very generally think it an unsafe situation which they are in. * * it cannot be thought very eligible that the whole property of a country which may be the subject of legal dispute should be governed by the determination of a single judge, without the possibility of having that determination reversed."

¶American State Papers, Miscellaneous, I, 116.

**A small American village near Bellefontaine.

††Reynolds, Pioneer History, 154.

‡‡Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 396.

bitterly resented these hostilities in the critical period between the cessation of hostilities and signing of the treaty of peace between the whites and Indians and protested repeatedly to St. Clair. St. Clair and Judge Symmes tried the case of the two Potowattomies both in Kaskaskia and Cahokia. There was positive evidence against two men, but so great was the racial antagonism that no bill could be found against them.* St. Clair concluded that the Whitesides affair was justified since it was not known in Illinois that an armistice had taken place and this tribe was at open war with the whites.† He admitted, though, "had the matter been ever so criminal in nature, it would have been, I believe, impossible to have brought the acts to punishments."‡

After five years' trial, St. Clair decided that "whereas the division of the county of St. Clair into districts has not been found to give that ease and facility to the administration of justice which was expected, and the great extent of country would render it almost impracticable were the courts to be held in one place only, it has therefore become necessary that it should be divided and a new county erected,"§ The northern county was to retain the name of St. Clair county with Cahokia as the county seat, and the southern county took the name of Randolph with Kaskaskia as the county seat.

The division of Illinois into two separate counties required the organization of new courts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Our knowledge of the organization of the court of Randolph county is still very small on account of the few records of this period which have come down to us. Legal documents of this period are signed by John Edgar or William Morrison [a wealthy merchant and trader of Kaskaskia] as judges. It is quite probable that records will even yet be brought to light which will reveal a well organized court in Kaskaskia during the years 1795-1800.‖

The court of common pleas of St. Clair county as organized by Governor St. Clair in 1795, consisted of six judges:¶ John Dumoulin, chief justice of the Cahokia district from 1790-1795; James Piggot and Baptiste Saucier, justices of the peace from 1790-1795; William St. Clair, clerk of the court from 1790-1795; Shadrack Bond, a native of Maryland, who had been living in Illinois since 1781,** and George Atchison (an American inhabitant of New Design.) William St. Clair also held the office of probate judge. William Arundel, an Indian trader and inhabitant of Cahokia in the Virginia period, was made prothonotary. The personnel of the court of quarter sessions was the same with the addition of William Biggs, first sheriff of St. Clair county, and James Lemen, one of the early American

*Smith., St. Clair Papers, II, 396. †Ibid, 375. ‡Ibid, 396.
§Smith, St. Clair Papers II, 345. Note.
‖This supposition is based on the fact that the full and quite complete records of the next decade, 1800-1809, for both common pleas and quarter sessions, show these courts consisting of many of the old inhabitants, such as John Edgar, William Morrison, Pierre Menard, Jean Baptiste Barbau, etc., who might be supposed to have carried on the government equally as well in the preceding five years. A court record for Kaskaskia under the Indiana Territorial government shows the court of common pleas to have been sitting in Kaskaskia in April and July, 1798.
¶Records in court house at Belleville, Ill.
**Kaskaskia Records, Aug. 27-31, 1781.

settlers in Illinois. This list of justices shows a greater monopoly of the official positions by Americans than in 1790, only one Frenchman having a place in the government.

In spite of the apparent efficiency and regularity of the courts, an element of weakness is found in the custom of allowing the judges to sue and be sued by the inhabitants. In 1795, John Dumoulin, chief justice of the court at Cahokia, was involved in three law suits, and Jean Baptiste Barbau came over from Prairie du Rocher, to preside over the court before which Dumoulin was tried. The decisions are interesting as showing the attempt to maintain justice and uphold the authority of the court.*

In February of 1796, three of the judges, Dumoulin, William St. Clair and James Piggott, were involved in law suits, which came before the court of this session and which would seem to undermine the efficiency and even the justice of the court.

The code of laws of 1795 also provided for the establishment of an orphan's court for the probate business of the county. The early records of this court from 1796-1798 are missing but an old index furnishes evidence that the court was sitting during these years.† The existing records show two sessions of this court for 1798‡ and three sessions for 1799.§ Judging from these records, the court would seem to have consisted of any three of the county justices,‖ presided over by William St. Clair, as "Judge of the Probate." During the next eight years, 1800-1808, the court held regularly four sessions each year, transacting purely probate business.

During this period, a new administrative county court, a Court of Commissioners and Assessors, was established in St. Clair county.¶ This court consisted of two commissioners, Joseph Kinney and Jean Francois, and three assessors, John Griffin, Michel Squires and Nicholas Jarrot, inhabitants of St. Clair county. Isaac Darneille, a native of Maryland and a lawyer of Cahokia, was appointed clerk. This court took over the financial business of the county and concerned itself with the payment of the salaries of county officials, individual debts against the county, assessment of property, levying of taxes, regulation of the price of peltry to be received as taxes. The record of only one

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*The case of Joseph Marie vs. John Dumoulin; Marie, a French inhabitant of Cahokia, brought suit against Dumoulin, who "under colour and pretense of his authority as magistrate committed the plaintiff into the custody of an executive officer, who, by the judge's order 'did then and there with force and arms, assault and beat, wound and evilly treat the plaintiff'" who was the same day, "without any reasonable or probable cause" committed to the county jail where he was detained a long time. Dumoulin showed that while he was exercising his functions of justice of the peace, Marie had behaved in his presence in a contemptuous, indecent, menacing, and insulting manner, refusing to keep silent or to suffer the said John * * to proceed in the execution of his duty * * * also said to * * * John while * * * in the exercise of his * * * office, in such contemptuous and insulting manner, when he was ordered to keep silence, that he * * * did not care for * * * John, nor for any person that would take * * * John's part," whereupon Dumoulin ordered the sheriff to commit Marie to the county jail. The attempt of Dumoulin to maintain the authority and dignity of the court was sustained. Dumoulin was acquitted and Marie ordered to pay costs.

A charge was brought against Dumoulin by John Guitarre, a Frenchman, for the arbitrary detention of his property by Dumoulin, and in this case the decision was against Dumoulin in favor of the Frenchman, as given by an American jury. (Common pleas of St. Clair county, Record A.)

†Hoffman, Civil Government of Illinois in History of St. Clair county, 82.

‡Sessions for 1798—April, July. §Sessions for 1799—Feb., May and August. County Rec-ord, April 14, 1798—June 16, 1817.

‖April 14, 1798—John Dumoulin, Shadrack Bond, George Atchison, *Judges*. Feb. 8, 1799—John Dumoulin, James Piggot, George Atchison, *Judges*. May 9, 1799—John Dumoulin, Shadrach Bond, Atchison, *Judges*.

¶Perhaps in Randolph county also, although we have no record of it.

session of this court during the years 1795-1800, has been found so far. This shows the court assembled at the court house of Cahokia, June 20, 1798. The court still existed under the government of the Indiana territory, but the assessors apparently dropped out and the work of the court was carried on by two, sometimes three, commissioners.*

In 1798, the Northwest Territory was found to have the requisite number of inhabitants [five thousand white male inhabitants] to entitle it to the second grade of government provided by the Ordinance. Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation ordering elections for representatives to the first General Assembly to be held at Cincinnati, February 4, 1799.† Only freeholders of fifty acres of land, a citizen of one of the states, or a resident of the district for two years, were entitled to vote, while a representative must be a freeholder of two hundred acres, a citizen of one of the states, or a resident of the district for three years.

Shadrack Bond and Isaac Darneille, both Americans, were candidates in St. Clair county. Out of a population which in 1800 numbered 1,255, one hundred eighty-five votes were cast, illustrating the proportion of the people who participated in the benefits of the new government. The record of the election reveals the character of the property-owning class in 1799, showing fifty-eight old French inhabitants, twenty-five recent French settlers and one hundred two Americans registered at the polls, and making a majority of nineteen American voters. This shows a large decrease of the old French inhabitants or an indifference in political affairs, perhaps both. The delay in the confirmation of the militia claims also excluded a good many militiamen from the franchise qualifications. John Edgar was elected to represent Randolph county.

The Assembly of twenty-two representatives, sixteen from Ohio, three from Michigan, two from Illinois, and one Indiana, met at Cincinnati and nominated ten men to be submitted to the President for the appointment of the legislative counsel. From the list submitted, President Adams chose four from Ohio and one from Indiana, Henry Vanderburgh,§ president of the counsel, giving Ohio a predominance also, in the counsel.

On September 16, 1799, both houses of the Legislature met at Cincinnati and the government of the Northwest Territory passed from the colonial into the semi or partially self-governing stage. The representatives of the people had now acquired the right to legislate for the people, but still subject to the absolute veto of an executive who was imposed upon them by an external power and over whom they had no control.

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*Sessions of court in 1802—August, Sept., Oct. 1803—July, Oct. Record of Court of Commissioners and Assessors, Belleville, Ill.

†Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 438. ‡History of St. Clair county, 70.

§Smith, St. Clair Papers II, 441.

JOHN RICHMAN,* A TYPICAL BACKWOODSMAN.

A personal sketch by Dr. H. Rutherford, Oakland, Ill.

Looking backward is the office and duty of history. Its labors are to mark the milestones of time as they pass, and to grave upon them the record of days, of years and of ages, in their successive chronology. Looking backward, recalling a youthful epoch, the reminiscenses of a past generation, is the pleasing task of old age, and it is in that line I would ask attention to a few incidents connected with the life and character of a noted man in the early history of Douglas county.

It was back in February, 1841, that a settler on Brush Creek, three miles southeast of Oakland, had a sale. He had had hard luck as he termed it. He had followed the rainbow to Illinois, but now the bow of promise was in Missouri, resting over the new Platte Purchase. There was snow on the ground, and taking a seat in a friend's sleigh, we made our way through the jack-oak brush to the place of sale.

Being a new comer myself, my object was to make acquaintance. But few people were present and a few more from various points kept dropping in; notably two from the head of the timber, one of whom was Captain James Bagley.

The sale of old barrels and other trumpery went slowly on. People cared more to group and gossip. A man in one of the groups near me, looking up the road, enquired, "Who's that?" No one knew the strange looking person approaching. Captain Bagley being appealed to, said: "That's old John Richman." Mr. Richman was a man of sixty years, six feet high, strongly built and in vigorous health. He carried a long rifle—a deer gun—with a leather guard over the lock. His rig and costume was unique and picturesque even for that day; a full hunter's outfit. He wore no hat, but instead a knitted woolen cap of white, red and green bands, with a white tassel at the top. His hunting shirt was of walnut jeans fringed along the seams and skirts, and around the neck and cape. His pants, of the same material, were held up by a draw string and secured at the ankles by deer leather leggins, bound by cross thongs fastened to his moccasins. He wore a leather belt in which was stuck a small tomahawk. To his shoulder strap was attached a pouch, a powder horn and a small butcher knife in a sheath. His moccasins had sole leather bottoms fastened by thongs. He was clean shaved, and his shirt and clothing were bright and clean; a

*This paper was contributed to the transactions through the courtesy of Miss Anna Rutherford of Oakland, Illinois, daughter of the late Dr. Rutherford who made the copy from a Manuscript in her possession: and of superintendent G. J. Koons of Mason City, through whose good offices it was secured for publication.

cleanly man by the way, and I never saw him in any other condition.

After greeting, he stated that one of his pet deer had escaped from his park three weeks ago. He had expected it to return, but, instead, found it had gone down the timber. He was sure it would come back in four weeks time, but fearing somebody might shoot the "critter," he had started out to find it and bring it back if alive. He had staid last night with his friend, Andrew Gwinn, and hearing of this sale, he had come by, hoping to hear of it. It was a doe with a red flannel band on its neck and with a small brass bell held by a leather strap. He added "If I could only hear one tinkle of that bell, I'd know it." No one had seen or heard of it, but all assured him that nobody would kill it, knowing from the band that it was a pet. Some one suggested that as the truant was going down the river, she might still be on the tramp, and by this time be in Jasper county. He shook his head with a decisive "No! She will not go more than two miles below here." He gave no reason for the opinion, but he no doubt knew what we did not know, that the range limit for the deer was twenty miles from the place of birth and breeding. I would remark here in parenthesis that all animals—man excepted—have their range limits. Naturalists tell us that the deer and antelope species have twenty miles, the lion and tiger ten, the horse five, the wolf four, the cow three, the hog two, the dog one, the cat a half, and the rabbit, like the hen and the quail, spend their lives on forty acres. Some one else inquired, "How will you find that deer among the brush, the thickets, and the long grass?" Holding up a turkey call-bone he said, "Every day when I brought her her feed, I called her up with that bone; if ever she hears it again she will know it and come to me. She will know me, too, and let me lead her home. If she is alive I will find her and find her down there." Pointing to the southwest. I had read with the ardor of youth "Gertrude of Wyoming' 'and the Leather Stocking Tales. I had heard of Mr. Richman before and now realized that there stood before me a type of a mountain hunter, more perfect perhaps than any that fiction had ever made. Shouldering his gun, he went on his way. We watched him with interest till he disappeared among the trees in his loving search for the lost doe.

It subsequently transpired that he made his way to the neighborhood of St. Omar, two miles north of Ashmore. Here, he decided, was the deer's boundary limits, here he began his search, as I was told afterwards by several of the residents. He staid two days roaming over the barrens and river bluffs, sounding his call-bone as he went, but no doe ever came to him. He became convinced that some one had killed it, and the wretch who had done it lived near by. In his anger he told several people what he thought and that if he ever found out who did it, he would put a bullet through him if it was seven years afterwards. He made and repeated this savage declaration in the house of David Golliday, Sr., unaware of the fact that at that time the band and bell of his doe was then hidden within a few feet of him. A few days previous one of the Golliday boys had brought in the dead body of the truant doe, with the red band and bell on it; knowing how mean and dirty the act was, the family kept it secret. The old

man's threats terrified them so much that the bell was kept in hiding for several years, till it was known that the ferocious old hunter was dead.

In the summer of 1842 I happened to pass by the house of Mr. Richman. His son David and his young wife were living there. The old man, being a widower, lived with them. I was called in to minister to a sick child. The house was a rudely constructed affair. It had a puncheon floor, an outside stick chimney, and the house corners were untrimmed. It stood by the calamus patch in the fair grounds. Mr. Richman, the elder, at that time, was particularly busy. As was his habit, he sat upon the floor with a deer skin under him, tanned with the hair on, and the neck, tail and legs clipped off. In his hand he held a piece of chair rung, to the end of which was attached a piece of sole leather, forming a convenient paddle. With this deadly weapon he slaughtered every fly he could reach adding at each successful blow a suitable curse adjective. A pair of short boards, leaning together at top and smeared with honey, stood on a shelf as a fly trap. Every few minutes he would rise from the floor and bring the trap together with a bang, supplemented with a furious "There, damn ye!" by way of comment. This is the opposite of romance, Fenimore Cooper never degraded his hunters and warriors to such small game; but all the same, such is life, such is reality. It was said of Mr. Richman that he would sit for hours at a time by his bee hives killing drones. The Oriental practice of sitting on the floor, as a comfortable any easy posture, has ever been a puzzle to us of the west. In the course of his fly campaign, he sat down and rose up many times; and what is singular he did it with ease and grace, such as long practice alone can give. I had seen him once before sit for hours on that deer skin, and what is more had seen him sleep on it, too, his head and shoulders lightly leaning against a table.

One day in November, '44, Mr. Richman appeared at my house, telling me he had a job for me. Stripping up his sleeve, he exhibited a wen on his upper arm, as large as a turkey egg. He said he had tried two faith doctors on it, but did no good, adding, "The sign wasn't right or sumthin.' Could I cut it out for him?" To my inquiry as to when he wished it removed, he said in his decided way. "It must be done today or tomorrow, because the sign today is in the legs and tomorrow it'll be in the feet. After that it'll be in the head again and you know it wouldn't do then at all; it'ud be dangerous." The wen therefore was removed at once. As the wound bled slightly he became uneasy, remarking that he had the power to "stop blood" on other people but could not on himself. He could "learn a woman," however, to do it, and if I would permit my wife to go into the back yard with him, he would learn her to stop the flow. Nodding assent, they retired—it would ruin the charm for me to see or hear the process—and he had her place her fingers over the wound, repeating after him a pow-wow formula commanding the flow to stop in the name of God and his holy angels. As there was no apparent result and he seemed anxious, I did what I should have done at first, put on another and tighter bandage. But Mr. Richman was satisfied, nevertheless, that the "words" had done the business.

He staid with me two days and told me a hundred of his hunting, mining and ghost stories. Brim full of superstitions, he was what the scriptures call a "natural man." Without moral or religious training, he did not know one letter from another, and to him the reading of a printed page was a mystery. His youth and manhood had been spent in the mountains of Virginia, living a wild and savage life. He told me he had never worn a shoe or a boot nor never had an overcoat on his back. Roaming over the country in search of game, in those days when the prairie was a wilderness and the settler was found only at distant points of timber, it was his habit when night was coming down, to make his way to the nearest cabin in sight, *sans ceremonii*. without a knock, he lifted the latch, walked in and made himself at home. To the lonely settler he was always a welcome guest, a God-send in fact. In his dialectic vernacular he repeated to his eager listeners his old time adventures—a light sleeper, he literally "sat by the fire and talked the night away."

From the late Andrew Gwinn I learned that his father was a woodsman by profession, what the French term a Courier de Bois. As a scout he served under Lord Dunmore and fought the Indians under Cornstalk at the battle of Point Pleasant. John was his eldest son, and had the good fortune to marry a woman of exceptional wisdom and patience. It was said of her that no other woman could control his passionate fits. They were energetic, industrious and prosperous. Deciding to live in the Wabash country, they spent a year in preparation. Two great poplar trees, made two large canoes. These dug-outs were launched on New river, placed catamaran fashion, a deck was built over them, and pitching his tent on top, with his family inside, the craft floated down the river. Down the Kanawha. down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash. In the low water of summer he and his sons pushed that flotilla up stream, day after day, till they reached Eugene. They staid here a couple of years, as I have understood, living in the tent, and in the spring of 1829, moved to the Ambraw. Mr. Richman has ever since carried the distinction of being the first settler in Douglas county. The exact date is to me unknown.

It may be stated here as an item of county history, that Captain Samuel Ashmore, in that same year located in Sargent township on what is known as the Sargent farm. His son, Omer, living in Iowa, writes me that they came to a halt on the 15th day of May. His father had two wagons, five yoke of cattle and a pair of horses. They immediately broke up twenty acres, planted and fenced it, housing themselves in the covered wagon. The next thing in order was a house. The late Geo. Ashmore told me that his father sent him up to Richman's for help, and the next day Mr. Richman and four of his sons came down to assist in the raising. In that year but these two families were in the county, and it is quite certain that this was the first house in the county. House building items of an early date have an interest for every locality. The late Young E. Winkler stated that his mother and his brother, Edmund, came to Brushy Fork in 1830. They built the first house at what is known as the north end

of the Hopkins bridge. The little clearing is there yet, and the house to my recollection stood there tenantless for many years. Ed moved from there to the Albin farm. In the fall of that year Mr. Winkle came to Brushy on a visit; from there he rode over to Richman's. They were still living in the big tent. Old John, as he was called, had at that time six bee trees marked in the woods. Mr. Winkler tried to buy one, but could not. Mr. Richman had scruples, thought it would be an act of betrayal, which the bees might avenge by a spell on him, rendering it impossible to ever find another hive.

The Richman boys were quite peaceable men, much like their mother in disposition. John and David had her dark hair and personally resembled her. All had more or less of their father's disposition. When David lay in his last illness, he told me he wished to sell out; hoped to get six dollars per acre for his little farm, hoped to get well, to go to Oregon, to the Rocky Mountains to hunt the bear, the elk and the black-tailed deer. Of his five sons, I thought Lewis, the youngest, resembled his father the most.

Discussing this point once with the late James Hammet, he disagreed with me, but to me, the resemblance, if not striking, was considerable. Alike in size and build, both had sandy hair, the same piping voice and the same wild staring look.

As a sequel to my sketch of this wild man 'o the woods, permit me to close with an ancedote told me long years ago by the Rev. John Steel, of Grandview, Edgar county. Mr. Steel was born on the Greenbrier river in Virginia, near the Richman's and knew the family well, especially the younger members of it. He stated that a new church had been built in the neighborhood, seated in pew style, finished and dedicated. On a summer's Sabbath day services had been opened, the preacher had started into his sermon, when a strange man in hunter's garb was seen standing in the doorway, eying the preacher with intense earnestness. He was recognized as Bill Richman, a brother to John. After a long pause, he stretched forth his long arm and grasped the pew railing, drawing one foot forward followed by the other. Then another reach with one foot at a time, never moving his eyes from the preacher for a moment. Arriving at a vacant pew, he raised one moccasined foot, passed it over the door to the inside floor, then the other and sat down. He remained seated about ten minutes, then rose, passing one foot over the door outside, then the other as he stood in the aisle, all the time keeping his alert eyes upon the preacher as danger point. He then moved backward by reaches, along the railing as he had advanced, till he stood on the door-sill. Then with one last wild, staring look at the preacher, he sprang backward and out several feet, turned hastily and disappeared in the adjoining forest.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

Something of Its Beginning and Growth, During the First Sixty Years of Its History: 1833-1893.

By Charles P. Kane.

The Sangamo Journal published at Springfield, Illinois, in its issue of March 16, 1833, made this announcement:

"Rev. Josephus Hewitt, of Jacksonville, will preach in the Court House in this town today and tomorrow. Services to commence at eleven A. M."

If old Time would retrace his footsteps of the last sixty years, and gathering up his handiwork as he pursued his backward way, would cast it again into the inscrutable abyss of the unborn, what strange dissolving views might greet the vision of any, permitted to stand by unaffected by the marvelous change and witness it.

These witnesses would see aged men and women become first youths then children, children become babes, then they are not, and of the thirty thousand population of our present city, many would hie away in different directions whence they had drifted in; some would vanish in one way, some in another, until the whole had shrunk into a little pioneer village of about 500 inhabitants, situated on a lonesome road that stretched its tedious length from Vincennes, Indiana, through Vandalia northwestward to Fort Clark—now Peoria, thence still northward to the lead mines at Galena.

Along down one of the depressions in the beautiful, billowy prairie of the "Sangamaw country," draining a little green valley about two miles in width, sped a stream or runlet, prosaically dubbed by intruding civilization, "the Town Branch." It passed immediately south of the edifice, at Fifth and Jackson streets.

Primitive Springfield was located on the north side of this branch, reaching northward about to the line of Mason street, and extending east and west from Klein to Seventh street.

The Vandalia wagon road joining another from the direction of Edwardsville, entered town from the south along the line of First street, uniting at Jefferson street with two less important roads leading the one to Beardstown, the other to Jacksonville. These passed eastward together on Jefferson street, becoming merged in the Fort

Clark road, which near the present site of the St. Nicholas hotel, on Fourth street, turned northward in the direction of the fair grounds and so to Peoria or Fort Clark.

Thus Jefferson street early became the leading thoroughfare of the village, and upon it were more thickly grouped the unpretentious dwellings of the denizens, with a shoe shop, a tailor shop, a blacksmith shop, a doctor shop, a printing office, a justice's office, a land office and half a dozen stores, which supplied the inhabitants and neighboring settlers with dry goods and groceries.

But at the time of which we write, a brick court house had been recently erected in the block of ground dedicated to public uses, and business was cautiously but steadily drifting to the public square, though most of the space fronting the court house was still occupied by private dwellings. Matheny's corner where the old Farmers' National Bank buiding and the Smith buildings now stand, was the residence of Dr. Garrett Elkin, at one time sheriff of the county. Along the east line of his premises, now Sixth street, was a high worm rail fence, in one of the secluded corners of which Dr. Pasfield, encouraged by other naughty boys, smoked his first cigar and was made very sick.

Neighboring farms bordered close on the confines of the little town. A farm house stood on the corner of Sixth and Cook streets; another was to be found about the place where General Orendorff now resides, at the corner of Second and Wright streets, and still another at the intersection of Mason and Seventh.

And so old Time in the backward march proposed for him, would see the bricks and stones of the Governor's mansion and our new State house sleep again in their native quarries, laying bare once more the vacant slopes of "Vinegar Hill." The solid blocks about our public square and its vicinity would melt into thin air, to be replaced by the green dooryards and modest dwellings of our first citizens. No railroad trains would rush with shrill scream and imperious roar across the quiet unfenced prairies of the Sangamaw country, where slow oxen gravely drew the plow and reluctant harvests were garnered with the sickle and the hand rake; no telegraph ticked its swift news from distant places and peoples to our little town; no public schools open their doors in the morning to the gathering children, and not one of the churches where a score of congregations met and worshiped, would remain to invite those who hunger and thirst after righteousness to enter and be filled.

Far removed by many miles of distances from old centers of civilization and still farther removed by slow and difficult means of communication and transportation, our brave little frontier town was shut up to itself, a kind of world in miniature, in which trivial incidents became as important and were as earnestly discussed by gatherings on the corners, as they now are when blazoned in great dailies or sagely considered in ponderous editorials.

The single newspaper published in Springfield at this time gave its readers a weekly summary of the contents of such St. Louis or eastern papers as might reach its office through tardy and intermittent mails. One number of the Sangamo Journal announced that having completed

publication of the debate in the United States Senate between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hayne, which had occupied the entire space of several recent issues, the editor would now endeavor to give his readers a greater variety of news.

A noticeable feature of the village paper was the absence from its columns of local news or reference to events occurring in the village or neighborhood. This arose, I presume,from two causes: first, as an old settler said, "nothing happened, everything was quiet and peaceful;" and secondly, whatever experiences of the little community might have been deemed worthy a place in the columns of a newspaper, were so thoroughly ventilated by the garrulous population, that the editor felt it a work of supererogation to insert the matter in his journal.

So it was that the so-called Rev. Josephus Hewitt had visited Springfield and preached the everlasting gospel, some time prior to the first announcement by the Sangamo Journal, March 16, 1833, that he would preach next day at the court house, though an incident that would be seized eagerly by the modern reporter and read the next morning with interest by his patrons. Yet true it was that Mr. Hewitt was the first minister of the gospel to promulgate at Springfield, that interpretation of Biblical teaching, accepted and advocated by the body of believers known as the Christian Church or the Disciples of Christ, now numbering in the United States over one million souls.

Mr. Hewitt was a remarkable man. He had qualities that would have distinguished him in any society, in any age. Large of stature, dignified of mien, he at once impressed individual or assemblage. As a speaker he was effective and forcible; I have heard numbers of persons say he was a grand preacher. One who listened often, describes him as a man of singular eloquence and power.

Judge James H. Matheny, a lifetime resident of Sangamon county, himself styled by brother lawyers at his obsequies, "silver-tongued," and "Sangamon's well beloved son," in a letter to the "Illinois State Journal" upon "Some forgotten Orators of Springfield," published April 28, 1889, wrote these words:

"Josephus Hewitt was one of the most eloquent men I ever knew. He came here as a minister of the Christian Church. Afterward he was admitted to the bar and appointed prosecuting attorney for his district. He was a conscientious man and had a high sense of the responsibility of his office. On the first day of each term of court it was his duty to charge the grand jury, and people invariably laid aside their work and flocked to the court house to hear him."

At an important crisis in his career as state's attorney, the requirements of duty came into sharp and direct conflict with weighty personal obligations and friendships, and upon the eve of a momentous criminal trial he resigned his office. And writes Judge Matheny, "I never saw Josephus Hewitt again. The next morning it was announced that he had resigned his office and gone south, and one of the most eloquent men Springfield ever knew faded from the recollection

of its inhabitants." Hon. David Davis, a former Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court referred to him in a public address as "Hewitt, eloquent and persuasive and my valued friend."

Mr. Hewitt was born in New York City, August 27, 1805, and removed to Versailles, Ky., when twelve years old. He came to Illinois in 1832, settling near Jacksonville; other members of his family followed in 1838. Immediately upon his arrival in Illinois he began to preach and was heard at Jacksonville, Carrollton and other places. A few members of the church had drifted into the Springfield neighborhood from Kentucky and through these, chiefly Mr. Joseph W. Bennett, Hewitt was induced to come here and undertake to organize a church. His first visit was made sometime in 1832 when not yet twenty-eight years of age; a young man indeed, but not younger than Saul of Tarsus, when arrested on the way to Damascus and commissioned as the Apostle to the Gentiles.

There were but two, possibly three church buildings in town but their pulpits were not open to Mr. Hewitt, nor was there a hall suitable to an assemblage of the people. In this emergency, friends secured the use of a building, situated in the outskirts of the town, now the northwest corner of Fourth street and Capital avenue, at present the site of the Devereaux family residence.

Mr. Hugh M. Armstrong, formerly a resident of Springfield and proprietor of the Springfield Woolen Mills, thus describes the location. "The building in question was situated at the corner of Fourth street and Capitol avenue fronting east. It was a brick building, one story high and about forty feet square, erected in 1830 or 1831 by George Carlyle, a young man from Kentucky, and was occupied by Mr. Hay and his sons Nathaniel, Milton and others for cotten spinning, and afterwards by Williams and Iles for a wool carding machine."

"Yes I have heard Josephus Hewitt preach there at the time to which you refer. The brick building was removed and Capt. Halliday built his residence on the same ground, which I believe is there at this time."

And there they preached the Gospel, and thither went Martha Beers, member of the Presbyterian church and Philo Beers, her husband, of no church at all, and they took with them their little daughter Caroline, then but six years of age; a circumstance I may be pardoned for mentioning, for though there are members of this congregation older than she, there are none living who shared this experience with Caroline Beers, now Mrs. A. J. Kane.

But the carding machine, as the building was called by contemporary citizens, soon became insufficient to accommodate the audiences that desired to hear, for many came in from the country around to swell the company of town folks that gathered nightly. And now new and influential friends intervene to secure the court house for the brilliant young evangelist, and according to another account of this incident, for a time "the same musty walls, which through the day re-echoed vociferous interpretations of the laws of man, resounded at night with the proclamation of the laws of God."

A number of converts were made and baptized, some of whom united with the church organized shortly after, others connecting themselves with congregations elsewhere. Among the best known may be named Gen. James Adams, then county judge, Mordecai Mobley, Dr. James R. Gray, Mrs. Ann McNab, and Philo and Martha Beers. Direct descendants or near kindred of most all of these are found in the Latham, Souther, Pasfield, Kane and Pickrell families still found in the church. Mrs. J. S. Hambaugh is a niece of Josephus Hewitt.

The Sanagmon river served as a baptistery. At the close of this meeting Mr. Hewitt returned to his home in Jacksonville, often revisiting Springfield and preaching at the court house. On one such occasion the notice read at the beginning of this paper, was inserted in the Sangamo Journal.

And now we come to a most interesting point in our local history, namely; its primary organization. Unfortunately our earliest records have been lost, but a book marked "Record A," commencing February 20, 1853, probably made up to a large extent from the recollection of officers and others, has been found incomplete and in some particulars incorrect though generally reliable in its statements. This record, the oldest in our possession, contains no account of the original organization of the church, so that we are compelled to depend upon the memory of witnesses in our endeavors to ascertain the time, place and membership of its original institution.

The only light shed by "Record A," upon this important event is the date given to the oldest enrolled memberships, which is April 1833. The letter dismissing Martha Beers from the Presbyterian church, it being her desire to enter the new Christian congregation, bears date the same month of April. A copy of this letter is still preserved; it reads as follows:

"Springfield, Ap. 24th, 1833."

"This is to certify that Mrs. Martha Beers is a member in good and regular standing in the Presbyterian Church of Springfield. As such she is hereby, at her own request, dismissed from us and recommended to the communion and fellowship of any church of Christ, where God in his providence may cast her lot."

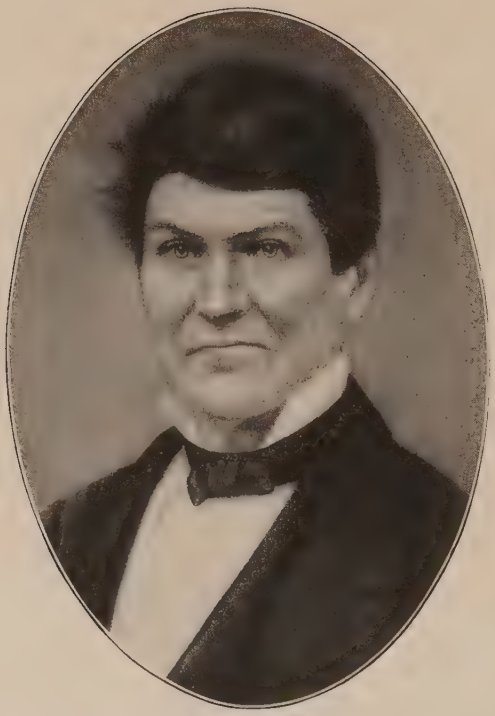
"By order of the Sessions,"
"John G. Beegen, Mode."

The only accessible, living witness to the place of organization is Caroline Beers, then in her sixth year. She would seem rather young to give reliable testimony regarding this occasion, but she has a very clear remembrance of many of the events of her early life, and wherever it has been possible to discover collateral evidence, her accounts have been verified in a remarkable degree. She says further that the subject of the organization of the church was discussed, in her presence, through many years, by the participants, and her recollection thus fully confirmed.

Our sole eye witness testifies that the church was instituted at the home of Mrs. Garner Goodan, wife of Levi Goodan. The place of her residence about this time is fixed by such old, cotemporary residents as Hon. John T. Stuart, Dr. Wm. Jayne, Z. A. Enos and others, near the

MRS. CAROLINE BEERS KANE,

Wife of Rev. A. J. Kane. Only Surviving Member (1908) of the Christian Church on Madison Street.



PHILO BEERS.

A Charter Member of the Christian Church, Organized in 1833.

corner of Third and Jefferson streets, upon the lot now occupied by the passenger station of the Chicago & Alton Railway. A blacksmith shop stood directly on the corner; the Goodan home next east. Mr. and Mrs. Goodan lived there in a large double log cabin, owned by Pascal Enos, father of Z. A. Enos named above.

Mr. Wm. T. Vandeveer of Taylorville, son of a foster daughter of the lady to whom we have referred, writes: "Mrs. Goodan was an active disciple of Alexander Campbell and frequent meetings were held at her home. My mother recollects the fact of the organization of the church and that Mrs. Goodan was one of the organizers."

All who have any knowledge of the first meeting to form a church agree that the number in attendance was twelve. And these twelve, although they were almost immediately joined by others, were styled "the Charter Members." According to Caroline Beers, who claims to be corroborated by Judge Stephen T. Logan and others, the names of the twelve are these:

Philo and Martha Beers, Joseph and Lucy Bennett, Alfred and Martha Elder, Dr. James R. Gray, Mrs. Garner Goodan, Mrs. Ann McNabb, William Shoup, Reuben Radford and Elisha Tabor."

Among those, who at once or very soon identified themselves with this little group of pioneers, were America T. Logan, Gen. Jas. Adams, Lemuel and Evaline Higby, Mordecai Mobley and wife, George Bennett and wife, Col. E. D. Bake and wife, the Woodworth family and others whose names are not obtainable.

This little band, to whom we owe the beginnings of all we are, of all we hope to be as a church, have passed away. The sun and the stars have shown above, the rain and the snow have beaten down upon their graves these many years. They have entered into the great mystery, whither neither voice nor sight can follow them, whither our hopes go with them, and into which after a few brief years we too must pass. We have received their work as a sacred trust, faithfully to keep and hand again to our children, that with hearts at peace and conscience clear, we may go to sleep with the fathers, till the Lord shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel and the trump of God, and they that are in their graves shall hear his voice and come forth.

Few in numbers, limited in resources, the little church began to prepare a meeting place, and before the close of the year they had purchased a lot upon which to build. On the twentieth day of September, 1833, John Smith and Penlope, his wife, and William Smith and Ann, his wife, of the city of St. Louis and State of Missouri, for and in consideration of sixty dollars, conveyed to Reuben Harrison, Thomas Moffet and Josiah B. Smith, county commissioners of the county of Sangamon and State of Illinois, and their successors in office, for the use of the Christian church in the town of Springfield, fifty feet off the east end of lots One and Two, in block One, Ninian Edwards' addition, to have and to hold to said commissioners and their successors in office, for the sole and only use of the Christian church in the town of Springfield. Recorded in the Recorder's office of Sangamon county,

July 28, 1834, in book "G," page 376. The property thus purchased was situated on the north side of Madison between Fourth and Fifth streets, immediately west of the alley, and is part of the premises now occupied by Ide's Engine Works.

The first meeting house was completed and occupied some time in 1834, a fact we learn from a peculiar and interesting incident.

The congregation being too feeble to accomplish unaided the erection of a chapel for public worship, appealed to the public for assistance. This was bestowed, but a condition was annexed to the gratuity—that whenever the house was not being used by the Christian church, any other religious body so desiring to might occupy it. In those early times, it was not possible to sustain continuous weekly preaching, and such houseless and homeless religious people as the Adventists, the Millerites and others, were permitted to use the house according to the condition nominated in the bond. No confusion or annoyance arose from this liberty until about 1839, when Mormon missionaries invaded Sangamon county and began to proselyte, and indeed captured one or two of our own members. Under the condition of the public subscription, the Mormons claimed the right to enter the church and proclaim there is one God and Joseph Smith is His prophet.

Taking advantage of the general prejudice against this novel and ill-favored cult, the church officers besought the original subscribers to their building fund to release them from the condition of their subscription, that they might have the unquestioned right to close their doors against the Latter Day Saints. The instrument by which this was accomplished, is interesting as well because of its contents as of the list of subscribers, containing the names of many prominent citizens of Springfield. It reads as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, May 27, 1839.

The undersigned subscribers to the building of the church on lots one and two in Edwards' addition to the town of Springfield, understanding that difficulties have arisen in relation to the use of said church or meeting house, do appoint and direct that said meeting house or church, be held and used exclusively by and for the use of the church established in Springfield, calling themselves the Christian church, the said meeting house being the same used by that church since the year 1834.

"	Stephen T. Logan	Jos. Klein
"	Joseph W. Bennett	Thos. Constant
"	James G. Webb	P. C. Canedy
"	John Williams	J. M. Cabanis
"	Elijah Iles	William Fleurville
"	James L. Lamb	A. G. Herndon
"	John T. Stuart	A. Y. Ellis
"	Benjamin Talbott	Thos. Moffett
"	William Butler	Wm. Carpenter
"	P. C. Latham	B. C. Johnson
"	William Lavely	Gershom Jayne
"	Erastus Wright	Philo Beers
"	W. P. Grimsley	John F. Rague
"	B. C. Webster	James Campbell
"	S. M. Tinsley	Isaac S. Brittain
"	Washington Iles	John Todd

"	Andrew McCormick	G. Elkin
"	Geo. Pasfield	J. R. Gray
"	Sanford Watson	H. Yates
"	John White	
"	Robert Allen	
"	A. Trailor	

"I hereby subscribe the above caption and acknowledge the receipt (from D. B. Hill) of the amount of my subscription for building the meeting house named.

June 14, 1839, J. C. PLANCK.
June 5, 1839, L. G. MOORE."

Recorded in the Recorder's office of Sangamon County, Bk. "P," P. 490.

Prior to the completion of the meeting house in 1834, the congregation met at the house of its members, principally alternating between those of Philo Beers and Judge Stephen T. Logan; the latter was not a member of the church, but from its organization to the close of his life was its steadfast friend and most liberal contributor.

After taking possession of their house of worship, the first news we hear is the cheery note of Mordecai Mobley, probably the first regular elder, to the Millennial Harbinger, published at Bethany, Va., by Alexander Campbell. Mr. Mobley's note is dated Nov. 14, 1834. "We have recently had four days' meeting in this place,' he writes. "Many teaching brethren attended, among whom were Brothers Stone, Hewitt and Palmer of Kentucky. We had during the meeting the pleasure of seeing ten or twelve obey the Lord and added to the church. We have the prospect of Brother Hewitt's residence in this place this winter, from whose labors we anticipate much good to result."

Brother Hewitt came to Springfield as indicated in this letter and preached for three years, when much to the regret of his family and the church, he determined to enter the legal profession. His sudden resignation of the office of State's attorney, and departure for the South in the fall of 1838 have already been described. He died some years since at Natches, Miss., and was heard to say no part of his life was happier than those pioneer days, when he preached for the church at Springfield.

The Bible he used, containing his name and the date, 1828, has been preserved by Dr. Pasfield, and was read from during these ceremonies of the sixtieth anniversary of our organization.

The second preacher of the church was Alexander Graham, who came to us from Tascola, Alabama, in 1836. Daniel B. Hill, who at the time was associated with Mordecai in the eldership, and who, in 1843, was elected Mayor of Springfield, writes of Mr. Graham:

He was a man of cultivated mind, pleasant manners and a good preacher. He was popular as a man and as a preacher and always commanded good audiences. The year he was with us, Bro. Graham published a religious monthly, which he named 'The Berean.' "

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Roxanna Stewart Knights, of Williamsville, Ill., I have been permitted to inspect a number of copies of "The Berean." It compares quite favorably with our literature of today.

In a double number for July and August, 1838, in the department entitled, News from the Churches, appears the following editorial paragraph:

"The congregation of Disciples in Springfield now numbers about ninety members. There has been a gradual increase since its formation and the first day has never been without its due celebration. Although we have had no revival, we have had an accession of forty members during the last twelve months. It will only require industry and perseverance to see the truth triumph gloriously."

An editorial published near the same time numbers the Jacksonville congregation at about two hundred. A letter to the Harbinger dated April 29, 1839, written by Robert Foster, an eccentric but oftentimes effective pioneer preacher of Central Illinois, states there were at that time eleven Christian Churches in Sangamon county, then including Menard and part of Logan county. These were located at Springfield, Lick Creek, Athens, Wolf Creek, Sugar Grove, South Fork of the Sangamon, Germany, Island Grove, Cantrall's Grove, Clary's Grove, and Lake Fork.

In 1840 was inaugurated the practice of holding "Annual State Meetings." The call for the first State Meeting appeared in the July number of The Heretic Detector, issued at Middlebury, Ohio. It reads as follows:

NOTICE.

"On Friday before the fourth Lord's day of September, 1840, will commence our annual meeting at Springfield, Illinois. The churches of Christ are all invited and urged to attend it by their messengers and especially their evangelists. Elders and deacons are earnestly requested to attend. We should be pleased to have with us from other states and territories as many as can come. We design particularly to invite the more prominent brethren from Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana.

"Our object is to continue some days in worship, to become better acquainted with each other, to strengthen the bonds of fellowship and brotherly affection, to know our members, to have as many evangelists in the field of labor as we may be able to support, and to make one united effort to spread the truth through our country."

" B. W. Stone " John T. Jones " Peter Hedenburg	Elders.
" D. Pat Henderson	Ev. of Morgan Co.
" Wm. Davenport " Henry D. Palmer	Elders of Tazewell County.
" Theophilus Sweet,	Fulton County.
" D. B. Hill	Elder, Springfield, Ill.
" John Rigdon	Eld. Lick Creek.

Succeeding State Meetings were held at Jacksonville in 1841, again at Springfield in 1842 and at Bloomington in 1843. They were the occasion of great interest and enjoyment in those tranquil old times and the brethren were gratified to meet such men as Barton W. Stone, John T. Jones, D. Pat Henderson of Jacksonville, William L. Lindsay,

and William Davenport of Walnut Grove, Dr. R. O. Warrener and Dr. Young of Bloomington, Walter Bolles, William Brown and Robert Foster of Kentucky, J. P. Lancaster of Missouri, William Palmer and others.

On account of the feebleness of the little churches which began to spring up all about, and their inability to sustain regular preaching, it became the custom for ministers to go about on missionary tours, visiting a congregation, preaching a few days and then passing to another.

The first protracted meeting, which was attended by marked results, was held by William Brown of Kentucky, in July 1841. Mr. Brown was a man of acknowledged power and subsequently acquired a prominent place among the preachers of Illinois. He was pastor of this church in 1847 and his daughter, Mrs. Ann Mary Elkin is still a member of the congregation here. The meeting of July 1841 resulted in about sixty conversions, not all of whom however united with the local church, but among those who did are such well known names as Jonathan R. Saunders, John G. Elkin, Henry and Caroline Beers, Sanford Watson, Mary E. Constant, James Walker, James Singleton and others. Thomas C. Elkin was baptized by Robert Foster the February preceding.

The following year occurred the second Annual Meeting held at Springfield. The bright, particular star at this convention was Jerry P. Lancaster of Mo. As a pulpit orator he was probably surpassed only by Josephus Hewitt among our early preachers in Illinois. He was a man of limited education but of fine natural endowments and the master of a native eloquence that swayed his listeners at will. Such was his impressiveness that one who heard him said fifty years afterward, he could give a complete outline of the sermon. The Springfield church was so delighted with him, they pressed him into service as their third pastor. He remained but a year however, being decoyed away by the superior persuasiveness of our Jacksonville brethren; thence in 1844 he removed to Dubuque, Ia., at the invitation of our Bro. Mobley, who had changed his residence to that city. William and Lavinia Lavely united with the Church during Mr. Lancaster's ministry.

About this time a young North Carolinian, who with others of his family had emigrated to Indiana, resolved to push further into the West and try his fortunes in the new state of Illinois. In 1838 at twenty-one years of age, he arrived in this country and assisted in building the bridge over the Sangamon known as Carpenter's bridge.

In 1839 he took up his residence in Springfield, and having been converted to the faith by John O'Kane he at once united with the church in this town. Ready of speech and a close student of the Scriptures he began to take active part in the social and prayer meetings, and Elder D. B. Hill and leading brethren encouraged him to enter the ministry. This he did and soon became a prominent figure among the Preachers of the state. He attended the first State meeting and upon the organization of the Illinois Christian Missionary Convention, served as a member of the committee to draft its con-

stitution. In 1853, Brother Campbell visited Illinois in the interest of Bethany College, at which time the Disciples of the state raised Sixteen thousand dollars to endow a chair of chemistry in that institution. Among other places Mr. Campbell visited Jacksonville and thus writes to the Harbinger of the pastor of the church there: "Bro. Kane was obliged to give the parting hand at Jacksonville and attend to his pastoral duties. My loss of his aid will no doubt be a gain to the cause, he so ably and faithfully sustains in his own proper field of labor. We want a hundred such men in this great state of Illinois."

Elder A. J. Kane, in a life pilgrimage reaching through three quarters of a century, has spent more than two thirds of that time in active duty as pastor and evangelist, and his is perhaps the oldest service in the ministry among the Disciples of Illinois. The solemn ceremony of his ordination was observed by the church as early as 1842.

The reformation led by Alexander Campbell, Barton W. Stone, Walter Scott and others, which we represent, called upon all christians as well as strangers to the covenants of promise, to reject human creeds and search the Scriptures to discover the simple, unadulterated teachings of the Savior and his Apostles. The leading purpose was in this way to ascertain a common, infallible ground upon which all Christians might unite in one undivided body. When introduced here in 1833, the plea was new and those who enlisted for the cause, did so with enthusiasm. They became studious Bible readers, and it was the primitive practice in Springfield for every member of the church to carry a copy of the New Testament in his pocket. Some irreverent critic observed, "you couldn't say anything to one of those *Campbellites* about religion, but he would pull out his *primer* and insist on reading it to you."

The fraternal tie between the members in those early times seemed very close; this is illustrated by a little incident. Two men, prominent in the church, became candidates for the same public office, and it seeming probably that ill feeling would be engendered by the contest, it was agreed to submit to the church, which should be the candidate. A decision was made; the fortunate brother who received the nomination, was unfortunately beaten at the polls.

The life of the little congregation, during the time it gathered at the meeting house on Madison street, may be termed its heroic age. Through paucity of numbers and lack of material resources, times of apathy and discouragement came on and some were inclined to despair. About the year 1848 the Sunday School was started with Joseph W. Bennett as superintendent. B. F. Chew a very worthy young man, filled the office of assistant superintendent, J. N. Wilson that of clerk; Thomas C. Elkin, Alfred Elder, Mary Logan, Sarah Brumfield and others enlisted as teachers. In one of these inauspicious seasons, upon a cold winter day, when the spirits of the church had with the thermometer, fallen toward zero, a little group of men, women and children stood before the meeting house, confronted by doors grimly locked and barred against them. They had assembled to hold a Sunday School but disconcerted at their chilly reception were discussing an adjournment *sine die,* when Mary Logan, afterward Mrs. Milton

REV. ANDREW J. KANE,
1817-1896.

Pastor First Christian Church, Springfield, Ill., 1851.
Active in the Ministry for Fifty Years.

SECOND CHURCH EDIFICE

of the Christian Church, Springfield, Ill., Occupied About March 1853. The building is still standing (1908) Corner Sixth and Jefferson Streets.

Hay, appeared and inquired why they did not enter the house. "The good brother who kept the key had not arrived." Straightway she went for the recreant official, returned with the key and began preparations for kindling the fire. The brethren who had sheepishly observed the young lady, at this point relieved her of further exertions. Soon the stoves were red hot, the shivering company thoroughly warmed, the school duly opened, held and closed; and from that day to this the Sunday sun has not risen and set again without a Bible school being conducted at the Christian Church in Springfield. Through all the most depressing periods prior to 1850, there was always a nucleus, consisting of the Logans, the Mobleys, the Hills, the Hewitts, the Bennetts and the Lavelys, which could be rallied to duty and activity by an appeal to their Christian patriotism. But the days were not all dark and bars of sunshine and gold streaked the sky with wholesome, cheering light. Much of the time the Church moved perceptibly forward.

It remains for me to speak but briefly of our organization after its removal from the old house on Madison street.

Under date of Feb. 15, 1852, I find in Record "A," this minute:

"At a meeting of the congregation held on this day, on motion it was Resolved, that Jonathan Saunders, Stephen T. Logan, William F. Elkin, William Lavely and Joseph W. Bennett be appointed a committee to make arrangements for a more suitable house of worship and to act for and in behalf of the congregation, as they may determine best, either by pulling down the old house and building on the present lot, or by purchasing another lot and building thereon, and disposing of the old house and lot to the best advantage." "Thos. C. Elkin, Clerk."

May 30, 1852, an election was held for trustees, resulting in the choice of Jonathan R. Saunders, William F. Elkin, Stephen T. Logan and Thomas Condell.

July 16, 1852, the trustees were authorized to sell the property on Madison street and execute a deed therefor.

July 17, 1852, the trustees joined the judge and justices of the County Court in a deed, conveying the Madison street property to the trustees of the Free Portuguese Church of the City of Springfield.

June 3, 1852, William Carpenter, in consideration of Thirteen Hundred dollars, conveyed to Stephen T. Logan, Thomas Condell, Jr., William Lavely, Jonathan R. Saunders and William F. Elkin, Trustees of the Christian Church at Springfield, Illinois, and their successors in office, Lot 1, Block 1, of The Old Town Plat. Recorded June 19, 1852.

This property was situated on the Northwest corner of Sixth and Jefferson streets. Here a meeting house was erected this same year, in which the congregation assembled for worship about thirty successive years. The building was occupied early in 1853, and as a house warming a "protracted meeting" was held, conducted by Elders W. W. Happy and A. J. Kane of Jacksonville.

With the entry into the building on Sixth and Jefferson streets the congregation received reinforcements of material that very sensibly influenced and aided its progress. In 1853 Asbury H. Saunders, Richard and Margaret Latham, and Henry C. Latham their son

were added. In 1854, William T. and Dorinda Hughes; in 1855, Aaron and Lavinia Thompson, and Lucy Latham; in 1856, William D. Logan and wife.

Soon after the occupation of the new domicile, Feb. 20, 1854, there was also a kind of official reorganization. An election was held at which Jonathan R. Saunders received for Elder twenty-one votes; William F. Elkin thirty-three votes and William Lavely twenty-four votes, and these were declared elected. March 13, following, B. B. Lloyd and John D. Constant were chosen deacons. About two years later, Sept. 30, 1855, Aaron Thompson, J, N. Wilson and J. F. Rowe were added to the diaconate. This is Bro. Thompson's first entry upon official service; he was chosen elder Feb. 6, 1859. After an interim the responsibilities of the eldership were again entrusted to him, which he has retained to this day. Only his brethren know how faithful he has been in the discharge of the duties of his bishopric. Near fourscore years of age, he is full of honors as of years.

The writer united with the church May 9, 1864. Prior to this date official elections were frequently held but on the 27th day of December 1865, were chosen the office bearers with whom my early recollections are most clearly associated.

As Elders: Richard Latham, William F. Elkin, William Lavely, Andrew J. Kane and Joseph W. Bennett.

As Deacons: Thomas C. Elkin, Robert Hastings, Moses K. Anderson, John Greenwood and Asbury Saunders.

And these brethren on the 10th day of January following as the record declares: "Most solemnly after fasting and prayer, were set apart by ordination to the several offices to which they had been chosen."

Opposite the name of Richard Latham we find the simple record: "Fell asleep in Jesus, June 5, 1868, in the full hope of rest." For fifteen years Bro. Latham had been an exemplary member and for nine years an elder. "He was a good man," was the eulogy pronounced at his grave; there could be none more honorable. Father William F. Elkin, a man of high Christian character, secure in the place he long held in the affections of his people, in old age removed from Springfield in 1880. In 1872 Bro. Thompson was again called to the eldership, and as thus constituted the Board remained until by gradual additions, the present elders and deacons became the official representatives of the congregation.

On the 10th of March 1880, the Church incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois, electing Stephen T. Logan, Jonathan R. Saunders, William Lavely, Vachel T. Lindsay, Charles P. Kane and Samuel H. Twyman, trustees and adopted as their corporate name "The Christian Church of Springfield, Illinois." Certificate recorded in the Recorder's office of Sangamon county in Book 60 of Mtgs. P. 9.

A resolution had already been adopted at a meeting held February 29, 1880, appointing A. H. Saunders and H. C. Latham, together with the deacons of the Church, a committee to negotiate the sale of the church property on the corner of Sixth and Jefferson streets, and that the proposition of Robert Officer to sell the lot on the Northeast cor-

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
Springfield, Ills.

Present Building, Corner Fifth and Jackson Streets.

ner of Fifth and Jackson streets be accepted, and that this lot be purchased as a new building site.

March 11, 1880, Elizabeth M. Officer and Thomas, her husband, in consideration of Twenty-two Hundred dollars, conveyed to the Christian Church of Springfield, Illinois, Lots Nine and Ten, in Block Two, of E. L. Edward's Addition.

Messrs. L. H. Coleman, Aaron Thompson, H. C. Latham, Ervin Clark, W. D. Logan, A. H. Saunders and Mrs. Hattie Pasfield were chosen a committee to superintend the construction of a new edifice. The house was built under the direction of this committe and the personal supervision of the Pastor, J. Buford Allen.

On the 10th day of February 1882, Aaron Thompson, chairman and L. H. Coleman, treasurer of the Building Committee, made a report of the receipts and disbursements on account of the new building, and formally delivered it to the Trustees. A vote of thanks was tendered the committee and especial honorable mention made of Bro. Allen and his valuable services as superintendent of the work. It was also ordered that the proceedings of this meeting be spread upon the records and that the congregation adjourn to meet at the new house on the corner of Fifth and Jackson streets.

This building was occupied and dedicated on Sunday, Feb. 12th, 1882. The exercises consisted of Scripture reading and prayer by Elder J. Buford Allen, the pastor, a sermon by Elder A. J. Kane, a dedicatory address by Mr. Allen and the celebration of the Lord's supper.

In the evening a union service was conducted, in which a number of ministers of the different denominations in the city participated.

In 1887, during the pastorate of E. V. Zollars, the parsonage in the rear of the church was erected.

There have been twenty-one regular pastors of the flock in the last sixty years. They are:

1	Josephus Hewitt	1835	12	Thomas T. Holton	1869
2	Alexander Graham	1838	13	James B. Crain	1870
3	Jerry P. Lancaster	1843	14	Harvey B. Everest	1873
4	William Brown	1847	15	Edward T. Williams	1876
5	Andrew J. Kane	1851	16	John M. Atwater	1878
6	John H. Hughes	1853	17	Joseph Buford Allen	1880
7	Alexander Johnson	1854	18	J. Z. Taylor	1884
8	B. F. Perky	1856	19	Eli V. Zollars	1886
9	S. E. Pearre	1862	20	John B. Briney	1889
10	Daniel R. Howe	1864	21	Abner P. Cobb	1892
11	Lansford B. Wilkes	1866			

These names are the property of the Brotherhood at large. Nothing could be said here that would add to the wider reputation, they have earned in the broader field of the whole church; the history of our reformation would be incomplete without them and its pages will but the brighter, where the names of these heroes of the cross appear.

From the beginning we have been singularly happy in our Eldership. With few exceptions they have been men of upright purposes,

sincere servants of the Lord, capable and well qualified. Their names have been a tower of strength and their memory an inspiration, even to later generations.

There was Mordecai Mobley, still tenderly remembered by the eldest of us; he was probably the first to assume this responsible office and justified the early preference of his brethren.

There was Daniel B. Hill, Mayor of Springfield in 1843, yet living in Palo Alto, Miss., in his 83d year, whom his co-temporaries styled the model elder. A man of gentle manners, of firm clear judgment, intelligent in the Scriptures, discreet, judicious. One said of him, when Bro. Hill examined a cause and gave his decision, such was the unbounded confidence in the man, no further questions were asked. There was venerable Father Hewitt and Thomas Hewitt, Jr., father and brother of Josephus; the latter like his brother "silver-tongued," whose touching and instructive talks at social meetings, were often said to be worth many sermons. There were also Alfred Elder, Joseph W. Bennett, William Dillard, Dr. Brookie, Father William F. Elkin, Richard Latham, Jonathan R. Saunders, William Lavely, James B. Hocker, Andrew J. Kane and Aaron Thompson.

On the death of William Lavely, Jan. 25, 1888, the officers adopted a minute *in memoriam,* which was entered upon the record Feb. 12, and approved by a rising vote of the congregation. It contained the following paragraph: "As a Christian, his was a faithful and devoted life. In him were reposed by the Church, the gravest responsibilities and the most sacred trusts, which he never evaded nor betrayed, but by precept and example endeavored to impress upon his brethren the teachings of his Divine Master," He died at 77 years of age. He was a member of the Church 47 years and an Elder 23 years.

Philo Beers, James R. Gray and Lemuel Higby were the first deacons. Since their time we have profited by the services of William Lavely, Jos. W. Bennett, B. B. Lloyd Aaron Thompson, Thos. C. Elkin, Moses K. Anderson, W. D. Logan, Ervin Clark and others.

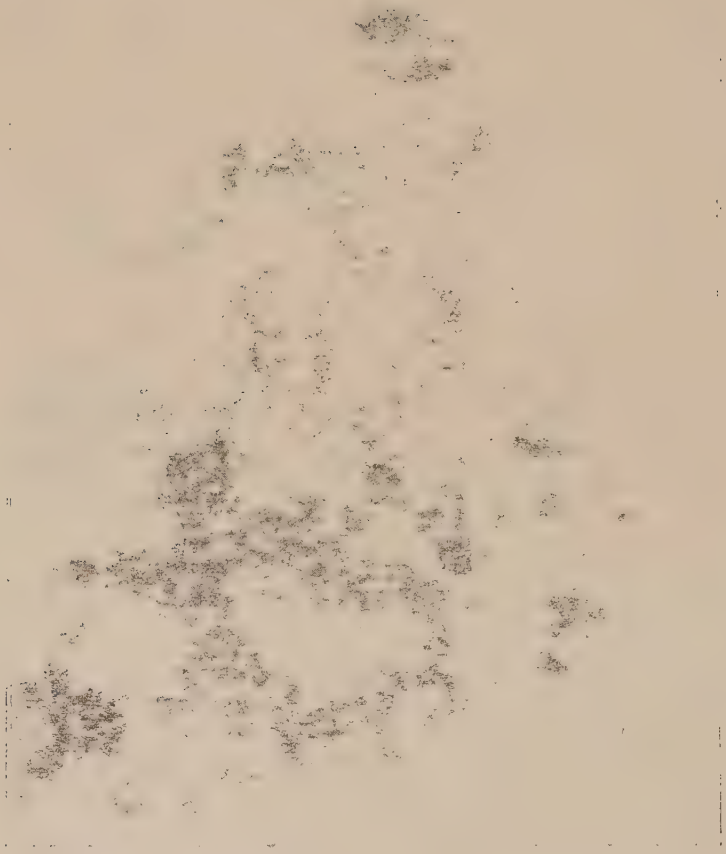
Martha Beers was chosen deaconess before the removal from Madison street and held this office at her death in 1845. During the pastorate of L. B. Wilkes, three deaconesses were elected, viz: Elizabeth Bennett, Margaret Latham and Caroline M. Kane.

There were many noble, courageous women, who were a source of great strength to the congregation. No one will ever be able to tell the story of our debt to such women as America T. Logan, Mrs. Mordecia Mobley, Mrs. George and Lucy Bennett, Mrs. D. B. Hill, Mrs. Margaret Latham, Mrs. Julia A. Brown, Mrs. Milton Hay, Mrs. Caroline M. Kane, Mrs. Archie Constant, Mrs. Marcia Saunders, Mrs. Jennie B. Coleman and many others that might well be mentioned. They never wavered in their faith or loyalty, nor faltered in their zeal. The impress of their influence is indelible. Without them the first effort to establish a Christian Church in Springfield must have failed.

I can recall many old faces, that have vanished from our midst, which as a boy, I was taught to reverence, as the Elders of the Church. It was the custom then, much more than now, for these Patriarchs

AMERICA T. LOGAN.

Wife of Judge Stephen T. Logan. Her Membership in Christian Church dates from 1833.



to sit in front in full view of the assembly. Time had plowed furrows in their faces and bent their frames with the weight of years. Week after week I saw them regularly in their places, steadfast in their duty. These old faces still have an eloquence I can not transmit to these pages and impress a sermon I never hear elsewhere.

As before intimated the story of this Church could not be told, without touching upon times of adversity as well as prosperity. Sometimes the rain descended and the floods came and the winds blew and beat upon this house, but it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock, and when the horizon cleared again and the sun lit up the sky, the same faithful ones were to be seen standing to the defense of Zion, and the same hands were still upholding the blood-stained banner of the Cross.

I have spoken freely of those who have passed from the scene of earthly action, leaving those who yet remain to the judgment of their contemporaries and to the future historian, who some day may continue this history and give due honor to such as deserve well at his hands. Yet without prejudice to myself or others, I might perhaps name the present members of the church, whose membership reaches back into the first half of the Sixty-year period.

But four, Elizabeth Bennett, Andrew J. Kane, Caroline M. Kane and Thomas C. Elkin, were members of this organization prior to its removal from the meeting house on Madison street; the others are Mrs. Sarah Smith, Asbury H. Saunders, Henry C. Latham, William T. Hughes, Dorinda Hughes, Aaron Thompson, Elizabeth W. Logan, Mildred Mason, Sarah Patterson, Nannie Souther, Ann M. Elkin, Mary Pittman, Martha Paullin, Caroline Tuxier, Mary Ross and Lizzie Bennett. These belong early or late, to the first thirty years of our history.

The present officers are:

Pastor, Abner P. Cobb.

Elders: Andrew J. Kane, Aaron Thompson, Vachel T. Lindsay, Louis H. Coleman, Ben. R. Hieronymus and Charles P. Kane.

Deacons: Asbury H. Saunders, Henry C. Latham, Hiram E. Gardner, David W. Clarke, James White, Richard H. Shropshire, Samuel H. Twyman, Edmund D. Postman, George Lawson, John D. Tilley, I. H. Taylor, William T. Lavely, David S. Propst and Ed. S. Sherwood.

Trustees: Vachel T. Lindsay, Louis H. Coleman, Henry C. Latham, Charles P. Kane, Samuel H. Twyman and Edmund D. Poston.

And now having inscribed this brief record, I realize how difficult it is to write history. A few names have been mentioned, a few dates noted, but how many threads must be dropped, how many facts unwritten, how many persons forgotten. Faces vanish, voices are hushed, footsteps heard no more. It may be events important in their results, names potent for good or ill, have found no place in this simple story of the beginning and early progress of the Christian Church at Springfield. And we deeply feel the truth of that beautiful saying of George Elliot: "The growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me, as they might have been, is half owing to the number, who lived faithfully a hidden life and rest in unvisited tombs."

Many have come to us from without, many have removed to other and distant homes, many have gone to the bosom of the Father, still we have increased. The hand of the Lord has been with us; hitherto hath the Lord helped us. The little company of twelve that organized the church in 1833, after all deaths, departures and depletions, in sixty years has multiplied sixty fold. and now numbers seven hundred and twenty souls. The condition of the church is prosperous, its spirit harmonious, its labors abundant, and we hear the voice of the Redeemer:

"The kingdom of Heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field; which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in its branches."

(Note: The foregoing paper was read at the celebration, by the Christian Church of Springfield, Illinois, of the Sixtieth Anniversary of its organization, observed the first Sunday in October, A. D. 1893.)

A NOTABLE ILLINOIS FAMILY.

By Ensley Moore.

A lady passed away, comparatively recently, in Indianapolis, who was the last of her generation in a family notable in the earlier history of Illinois; a family which, in those hard and narrow days of pioneering and in later days of broader things, did a large, and good part mostly, in the development of Illinois. It is the Goudy family to which reference is made.

Robert Goudy, Sr., was presumably born in the neighborhood of Armaugh, County Tyrone, Ireland, although the name Goudy, Gowdy as it was first spelled, and Goudie, is strictly a Scotch patronymic. Robert Goudy was born Nov. 2, 1785, and first appears in this country in Washington Co., Pa. There it is presumed he met Miss Jane Ansley, as that was her home, a lady of Scotch ancestry, and a woman of great strength and independence of character. She was born July 14, 1790, and was married to Mr. Goudy about 1812.

Their son, Thomas Ansley Goudy, was born Nov. 13, 1812. He transposed his name, after growing up, and was known as Ensley T. Goudy. He was in many respects the pioneer of the family, for he preceded the other members to Jacksonville. There, on July 1, 1840, he was united in marriage with Miss Catherine McMackin, a very bright and attractive lady, whose Irish father had the brightness of his race and whose mother belonged to a prominent Delaware-Pennsylvania family. Ensley T. Goudy was engaged in various lines of business besides printing, among other things being secretary in private life to Gov. Joseph Duncan, of Illinois, and was a man of prominence and high character. Mrs. Goudy died in June, 1847, and Mr. Goudy followed her in February, 1848, thus cutting short two lives of much promise and usefulness. They were parents of four children, only one of whom survived them.

Robert Goudy, the father, early took up the "art preservative of arts" and probably every member of his family, except his wife, served time at the case or with the press, and some were experts at typesetting. As it was they wrote their names in print at least upon the history of Indiana and Illinois, for the family were in Indianapolis at an early date, and Mr. Goudy at one time had a pasture where the Union Railway Station now stands. . Some of the children were born in Indiana but the family removed from Indianapolis to Vandalia, Illinois, in June, 1832, and after a short stay and doing some printing there, they came on to Jacksonville in 1833, lured by the opportunities offered by Illinois College, the first college established in the then new

state. Jacksonville Female Academy, the first high grade school for girls in the state was a matter of hope, and later on of help to the Goudy girls, who became students there.

Robert Goudy, Sr., was a man far above the average in mental ability and force in certain lines, and his wife was a woman of indomitable purpose and high character. They became the parents of nine children, all of whom were to become noted in their respective homes and walks of life. Mr. Goudy probably brought his printing outfit into Illinois; at any rate he was publishing "The News" in Jacksonville in 1834. It was about this time that Stephen A. Douglas came up from Winchester to Jacksonville, on a visit, and met the Goudys. Douglas was then about twenty years of age, and weighed about one hundred and twenty pounds; he was always very short. But Mr. Goudy recognized the coming man, and urged Douglas on in the way of ambition, putting the papers and books of the printing office at his disposal and urging their use when needed. Douglas soon started on his wonderful career by making a great "Jackson speech" in Jacksonville, after which he was borne around the courthouse yard on the shoulders of his enthusiastic supporters, and dubbed "The Little Giant," a title which clung to him thereafter. The Goudys were his friends and partisans throughout the rest of his life, and probably none so much aided him in his early political struggles for place and name.

Among other work done in 1834 by the Goudys, was the publication of "Peck's Gazeteer of Illinois," a little volume of nearly four hundred well printed pages, bearing the imprint "Robert Goudy, 1834." This was probably the first book, other than law or legislative reports, printed and bound in Illinois. The "boards" were procured from Cincinnati, then "The Queen City of the West." The Goudys printed the program for Illinois College, and, in 1835 their name was upon the first real Commencement program issued in the state, that of the class of 1835, at Illinois College. Mr. Goudy also began in Jacksonville the publication of the Almanac bearing his name, which became a repository of political and other facts highly valued by "the Natives" for many years. The Robert Goudy family, together with that of his son, Ensley T. Goudy, removed to Springfield, Ill., about 1845, where Robert Goudy died, that year. His widow remained there a few years, and then went to the home of her daughter, Mrs. Eliza Gamble, in Le Claire, Iowa, at which place she remained until her death in 1865.

Calvin Goudy, second child of the family, was born in Youngstown, Ohio, June 2, 1814. The family removed to Indianapolis in 1826, where Calvin began to learn the trade of printer. That city then had but one church, of the Presbyterian denomination, and Calvin became a member of its pioneer Sabbath School, under the pastorate of the Rev. George Bush. There Goudy became proficient in learning Bible verses, taking his Bible with him while he worked at driving oxen for hauling brick and sand. This childish occupation shows how the sturdy men were made. Football was not then needed for physical

and manly development. At Vandalia Calvin worked as a printer, among other things putting Governor Reynold's first annual message in type. After going to Jacksonville he earned his living with the type, and attended Illinois College, from which he was graduated in 1839. Among his associates in college were War Governor Richard Yates and Rev. R. W. Patterson, D. D., pioneer pastor of Chicago and father of the late editor of the Chicago Tribune. During Goudy's college course he assisted in printing a book entitled "Wakefield's History of the Black Hawk War," another early work in printing. He also taught school, studying and reciting in college at the same time. In the year 1837, Calvin, in connection with his brother (presumably Ensley T.), published the "Common School Advocate," it being the first publication devoted exclusively to the cause of education published in the "Great Far West." "On Nov. 8, 1838, Calvin was one of a small party that rode in the first car and behind the first iron horse ever set in motion in the State. There were but eight miles of finished roadway over which the trial trip was made, from Meredosia, Morgan Co., eastward—the beginning of the present great Wabash system." Calvin studied medicine and was graduated from the St. Louis Medical College in the spring of 1844. In May of the same year, he located in Taylorville, Christian county, his future home. Deer, bears and wolves then abounded in that region and Dr. Goudy, on one occasion, narrowly escaped with his life from a pack of wolves which chased him to a human habitation. He was always a popular man, and his next run was for the office of Probate Judge, to which he was elected in 1847, for a term of four years. May 10, 1848, Dr. Goudy was married to Miss Martha A. Mahood, of Cadiz, Ohio, and they were parents of four girls and two boys. Mrs. Goudy was a beautiful woman, and is still living in Toledo, Ohio, in the home of a daughter. In 1848 Dr. Goudy was professor of chemistry in Rock Island Medical College, which place he resigned at the end of the year. Having succeeded in his profession, Dr. Goudy "to meet the pressing needs of the section, erected in 1850, the first steam saw mill, to which he added a run of burrs to grind corn. This venture proved a public benefit. In 1856 the doctor was elected by a large majority to the Legislature, where he took an active part in all measures for the advancement of public education. He also acted very efficiently in advancing the interests of agricultural societies." In referring to the Normal University, the first Normal School in Illinois, the Chicago Times of July 1, 1860, said: The bill creating this institution met with a vigorous opposition in the House of Representatives of 1857, but by the energetic aid of such men as Dr. Calvin Goudy of Christian county, (whose effort in this cause should endear him to every lover of education) the bill finally passed by a majority of one. Dr. Goudy also projected and introduced the bill incorporating the Springfield and Pana Railroad. In Jan., 1861, Dr. Goudy was appointed by the Governor, and confirmed by the Senate, a member of the State Board of Education, a position he retained until his death. The family were all Democrats until 1861, when Calvin became a War Democrat, and later a Republican. Sept. 6, 1863, he was appointed Provost Marshal

of Christian county, a position he declined. Dr. Goudy filled many minor offices within the gift of his fellow citizens, and at the time of his death was the oldest citizen of Taylorville. He assisted in organizing the first Sabbath School in the county, and was a prime mover in public enterprises in which he believed and in benevolent movements of his time. He was for forty-three years a member of the Presbyterian Church, and was a commissioner to the General Assembly of 1876. Dr. Goudy was also a member of the Masonic fraternity, his brethren thereof officiating at his funeral, Mar. 8, 1877. "Dr. Goudy's death was deeply regretted throughout the central part of the State, where he was well known and highly respected. His funeral was very largely attended; all the business houses of Taylorville being closed during the services."

Robert Goudy, Jr., born Feb. 5, 1816, was probably the darling of the family, as he was a youth of exceedingly bright mind and personally attractive. Long years after his early death, Dr. Newton Bateman, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, said of him: "Robert had that rare insight into the subleties of things, which, for a lack of a better name, men call Genius!" And so he was esteemed by his family and friends. He was born in the state of Pennsylvania, but was taken to Indianapolis by his parents in 1826. "Here, it may be said, were spent those "halcyon hours" casual to boyhood's years. Hours, the events of which, usually stamp their impress on memory's tablet.

"——his early days
Were with him in his heart.—'Woordsworth."

There, perhaps was awakened the poetic spirit which led him to write in verse, and to be thought of as one of the gifted ones. Soon after coming to Illinois he made public profession of religion, and united with the Presbyterian church in Vandalia. In the years after coming to Jacksonville he studied in Illinois College, from which he was graduated in 1839, in the same class with his elder brother Calvin. Shortly after this he returned to Indianapolis, where he remained nearly two years, studying his chosen profession of medicine. In June, 1841, he returned to Illinois, and in August following he located at St. Marys, in Hancock county where he entered upon a successful practice, but one of short duration. "He died of congestive fever, at that place, Feb. 3, 1842, and his remains now rest in the St. Mary's graveyard, situated in a beautiful grove adjacent to the village."

Greece was then the subject uppermost in the minds of students and those poetically inclined, and, in 1839 Robert wrote a poem on that felicitous subject, the opening verse of which ran:

"Fair land of polished art and poet's song—
The sacred home of precious Freedom long,
And long the abode of sage Philosophy;
Bright spot among the gloom of years gone by,
Whose wreck is sinking in Oblivion's sea,
My truant thoughts all else forsake for thee,
My fancy wanders where blind Homer sung,
And strays thy fallen fanes and col'ms among."

A little book of his half serious attempts at poetry was printed by Dr. Calvin Goudy, prefaced by a sketch of Robert's short life, and this thin remembrance of 1842, and of a bright and gifted soul, lies before the writer of this sketch. The smile of Heaven was upon Dr. Robert's face as he died, and

> "After life's fitful fever,
> He sleeps well."

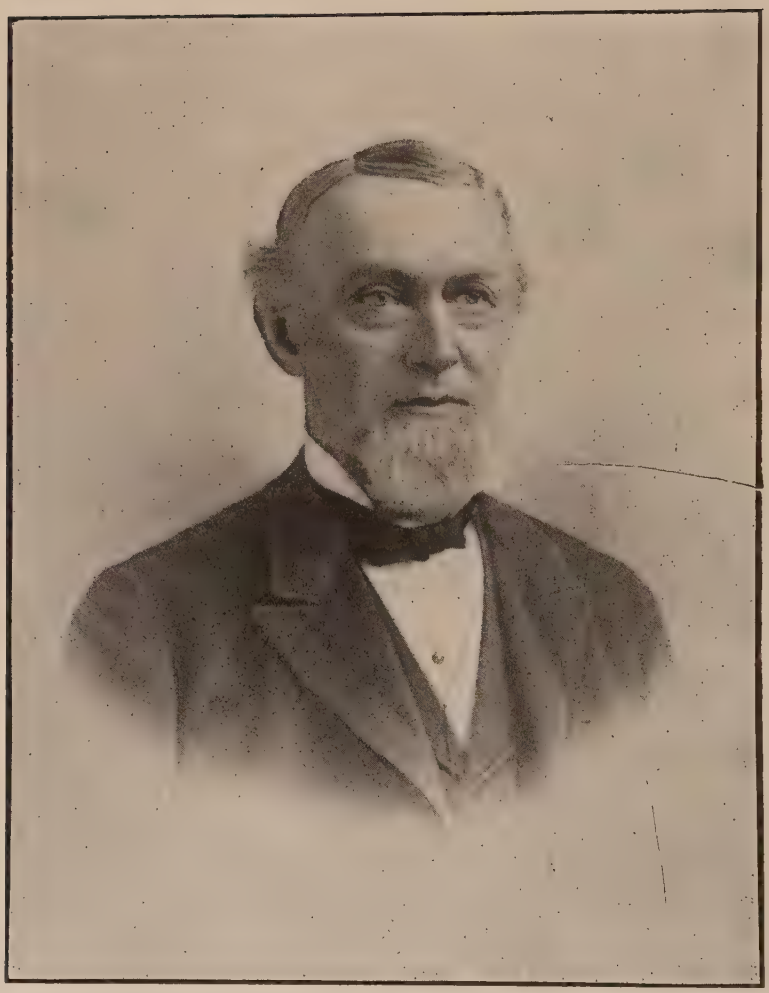
Maria Goudy, first girl of the family, and destined to live longest of any of them, was born Dec. 10, 1817. She, and all the girls, were born in Pennsylvania. She was married in Jacksonville, Sept. 3, 1838, to Mr. George W. Chapman, by whom she had five children. One of these, Mrs. Ellen Granger who was married in Cincinnati, was a school teacher, and became county superintendent of schools in the state of Washington. Mrs. Chapman died in Indianapolis, where she had lived for some years, June 15, 1905, and was buried beside her father in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Ill. She was a well educated and well informed woman, and a good writer. She enjoyed unusual physical health thro her eighty-six years, and had remarkable possession of her faculties for the last years of her life. She possessed much imagination, and was very vivacious, especially as she grew older.

Eliza Goudy was born June 2, 1819, and became a woman of decided force of character, was widely informed and of high mentality. She was married in Springfield, July 20, 1848, to Dr. Jas. Gamble, of Le-Claire, Iowa. Dr. Gamble was a native of Londonderry, Ireland, and, after coming to the United States, lived in Delaware, Pittsburg, Pa., Warsaw, Ill., New Orleans, St. Louis, and finally settled in Le Claire, Iowa in 1847, thus becoming a pioneer of that state which was at the time only a year old. After marrying Miss Goudy, "their home was for many years a social center." Dr. Gamble was a member of the American Medical Association, and of the medical association of the state of Iowa, of which latter he was president in 1870. He held local offices for years, was identified with educational matters and was mayor of Le Claire. He was vice-president of the Savings bank, and otherwise prominent. In 1862 he was assistant surgeon of the 3d regiment of Iowa Volunteers. In religious matters he was first a Baptist, and, when the local church broke up, he became a Presbyterian, of which denomination he became a Ruling Elder. At his funeral at the age of eighty-two years, in Oct., 1903, "there were present hundred of old friends of the decedent and the funeral cortege that escorted the remains to their last resting place was one of the largest in recent years." The city officials of Le Claire attended the services in a body. Dr. and Mrs. Gamble had no children of their own, but their home was the shelter of several children of their relatives. Mrs. Gamble was a fine housekeeper, a good writer, and at her death, Oct. 6, 1895, the local paper remarked of her: "Mrs. Gamble has been an active and influential member of the Baptist church for over fifty years, and took a deep interest in all efforts to advance the cause of

education and Christianity, and was greatly admired by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance during her long residence in LeClaire."

Jane Goudy, the youngest girl, was born Feb. 2, 1822, and was accounted the brightest of the girls of the family by her acquaintances. She, as did the others, early took to writing, which it should be remembered, was a rare accomplishment in those days, owing to the general lack of public education, and especially owing to the then defective education of women. Miss Goudy was married in Springfield, Mar. 4, 1845, to Dr. E. T. Chapman, of Taylorville, which was her home for years. They were parents of four children, and were leading citizens of their home town. This was brought about by the brightness and intelligence of Mrs. Chapman, and her interest in public affairs, and by the popularity of Dr. Chapman and his professional success. Dr. Chapman died about 1865, and some years later Mrs. Chapman removed with her family, to Topeka, Kansas, thus proving true to the pioneering tendency of the race. She died there Dec. 6, 1892.

William Charles Goudy was born May 15, 1824, an era when so many great men were born, and he was destined to become, or to make himself, the most prominent and distinguished member of the family. There was much in common, in the early days, of the various struggles of such men as Douglas, Lincoln and Grant, with poverty and other adverse circumstances, and Wm. C. Goudy belonged to that class of men. The three mentioned had greater names than Goudy, when their work was done, but he possessed the same quiet, industrious, indomnitable quality as they had, and he came to know and to be intimately associated with the first two and to be personally acquainted, probably with Gen. Grant. At the unveiling of the equestrian statue of Grant, in Lincoln Park, Chicago, Mr. Goudy as president of the park board, made a speech in the presence of very many thousands of hearers and spectators accepting that work of art. Mr. Goudy was born in Indiana, but for some reason he used to say he was born near Cincinnati, which was also true. He came to Illinois in 1833, and was always thereafter a citizen of this state. He became an expert typesetter, and also taught school. He was always a pronounced Democrat politically, but one night, while engaged in teaching school at Decatur, he was sleeping at the house of a well known Abolitionist, when a pro-slavery mob attacked the place, and some one shot right through the window and over the bed where Mr. Goudy was lying. Following the family thirst for learning, William attended Illinois College and was graduated in the class of 1845. The class had eleven members, all of whom, with possibly a single exception, became prominent or distinguished. Of the latter was Hon. Barbour Lewis, afterward member of Congress from Memphis, Tenn., a federal judge in Utah, and a State judge in Washington. Another of special prominence and business success was Mr. E. W. Blatchford, a leading manufacturer of Chicago, who is, so far as known, in 1908, the only survivor of the class.



WILLIAM C. GOUDY.

After graduation Mr. Goudy studied law with Hon. Stephen T. Logan, of Springfield—one of the greatest lawyers of Illinois—was admitted to the Bar in 1847, and located at Lewistown, Fulton Co., in 1848. There he became acquainted with Miss Helen M. Judd, sister of the Hon. S. Corning Judd, a native of New York state. Mr. Goudy and Miss Judd were married at Canton, Ill., in 1849, and they became identified with the Presbyterian church of Lewistown, and were active workers in the Sabbath school of that church, to which both belonged. In 1852 Mr. Goudy was elected states attorney of the district, which then included Rock Island and other counties. In 1856 he was elected state senator, and he was in the upper branch of the Legislature, in 1857, when his brother Calvin was in the lower house. Wm. C. Goudy's success as a lawyer, up to this time, had been good, but he heard the city calling him, and in 1859 he left Lewistown and went to Chicago, which continued to be his home for the rest of his life.

In Chicago Mr. Goudy became one of the foremost lawyers of the land in private practice, and in the last years of his life he was general counsel of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, a distinguished and lucrative position.

He was always an intensely busy man, and never wasted words. This led Franc B. Wilkie of the Chicago Times to characterize Mr. Goudy as "a locomotive enigma of reticence." Yet, when he had time, he was an interesting talker and highly enjoyed such relaxation, and had a keen appreciation of true humor.

"Writing some years since of a member of the western bar, a very eminent American jurist expressed the opinion that if one familiar with the profession, and competent to the task, were called upon to single out from among the many shining examples of legal greatness in this country the ideal lawyer, he could not do better than point to W. C. Goudy, of Chicago.'

"More than forty years of professional life has brought Mr. Goudy so prominently before the public that it is only necessary to say of him, so far as his standing at the bar is concerned, that he ranks among the pre-eminently great lawyers of the country."

"In 1855 he argued his first case before the Supreme Court of Illinois. * * * * * One hundred and thirty volumes of these reports have since been issued, and in every one of them cases have been reported which have been argued by Mr. Goudy, many of them involving questions of land law, commercial law and constitutional law of the greatest importance. In the higher courts of other western states, and in the Supreme Court of the United States, he has been almost as conspicuous a figure, his arguments in cases involving questions of commercial law attracting special attention, and carrying with them extraordinary weight."

Many noted cases in the National Supreme Court might be referred to, did space permit; for Mr. Goudy had a remarkably distinguished record before that tribunal.

"As no argument is necessary to establish the fact that Mr. Goudy is one of the great leaders of the western bar, neither would any pan-

egyric which might be written of him in this connection, add to the lustre of his renown "was written in the Magazine of Western History, some time before his death."

Mr. Goudy accumulated a very handsome fortune, lived elegantly, and never forgot in his success, those who had been friends in the days of his struggles for place and fame. He was a candidate for the United States Senate in 1862, and received a good vote, but was defeated by Wm. A. Richardson. Later in life he was a member of the National Democratic Committee, and a trusted adviser of President Cleveland. In church matters and benevolences Mr. Goudy was prominent, and was a trustee or director of McCormick Theological Seminary for years before his death. His home was brightened by two children, and it was visited by many of the most distinguished people of the land, to whom he extended a quiet but warmhearted generosity. Few men have been more generous, and this helpfulness was not extended merely to the members of his own family, but he had pensioners for years. He delighted in the society of little children and was greatly pleased at having them as visitors in his home.

"His interest in politics never had the effect of decreasing his interest in professional work, or caused him to slight his professional duties. From the time he took hold of his first case, up to the present, his rule has been to examine thoroughly into the details of every case in which he was retained, and to scrutinize it in all its bearings." Many incidents illustrative of his work in this respect might be given, and one of his greatest successes professionally was brought about thro this characteristic.

But a machine worked to its limit must break, and on April 29, 1893, as Mr. Goudy sat at his desk in the Northwestern office, talking with General McArthur his work was done, and "he fell on sleep."

And then the pages of the metropolitan papers teemed with notices and stories of the quiet man who had gone out from among men.

George Bush Goudy, born in Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 7, 1828 came to Illinois with his parents in 1832. He attended Illinois College in the years 1844-5 and 1846-7, being then resident of Springfield, Ill., where he was employed as a printer. Mr. Goudy left Springfield in May, 1849, becoming one of the "Argonauts of '49," going to Oregon City, Oregon, in September of that year. There he became publisher of the "Spectator," a weekly newspaper. He soon went to Lafayette, Ore., and while there held the offices of circuit auditor and sheriff. In the same summer of 1854 Mr. Goudy married Miss Elizabeth Morgan, a very attractive young lady of Lafayette. One child was born to them, now Mrs. L. T. M. Slocum, of Chicago. In April, 1855, Mr. Goudy removed to Olympia, Wash., where he was unanimously elected public printer by the Legislature. He then conducted "The Pioneer and Democrat," a weekly paper, and did the territorial printing. He died in Olympia, Sept. 29, 1857. Mr. Goudy was a man of great industry, and attained much personal popularity. He was one of the early pioneers of the Pacific Coast, as his parents and grandparents had been of the east, and assisted in giving it a start in the course which has since developed that region.

James H. Goudy, the youngest of the family, was born in Indiana, Jan. 23, 1831, and was brought to Illinois in 1832. There he lived in Vandalia, Jacksonville and Springfield. In the last named place, with the family habit, he was a printer, among other work being employed on the "State Register." He followed his brother George to Oregon, in 1852, stopping first at Astoria. "During the Indian wars of that region, in 1852-7, Mr. Goudy and his brother Capt. George B. Goudy, were in the military service of the government, and James H. was afterwards in charge of several Indian Reservations and tribes of Indians." In 1865, Mr. Goudy returned to the states and made his home thereafter at Le Claire, Iowa.

In 1875, Mr. Goudy visited Springfield, Ill., and the "Register" said of him: "He is an old gold miner, an Indian fighter and has had some hair breadth escapes. * * * * He was acquainted with Lincoln and Sheridan, Gen. Crook and many of the old time great men of the past. He is now 64 years of age and wears his golden badge of honor."

The badge referred to was given to him by old settlers of Oregon, where he visited about 1875, in view of his services in the Indian wars."

At one time during his work among the Indians he met a young officer of the regular army who was riding directly into the midst of the hostile Indians. Mr. Goudy warned him of his danger and persuaded the youthful son of Mars to take a safe route. Years afterward Goudy figured it out that the man's life whom he had probably saved was that of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, who afterwards made a more famous ride at Winchester, Va. Mr. Goudy was very popular among his associates of the Pacific Coast, and died at Le Claire, Iowa, Dec. 8, 1902.

Such is the story of an American family, whose history began in Ireland and ended on the Pacific Coast of the United States, and it is much to be questioned if many families have done so much as pioneers and upbuilders of our land. Surely few out of any one family have accomplished so much by their own, unaided efforts.

WILLIAM HUSKINSON.

K. Huskinson Shifflette.

William Huskinson was born March 26, 1827, in Mansfield, Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire, England. When a mere lad he was thrown on his own resources by the sudden death of his father, whom he only remembered vaguely. The Odd Fellows, a Manchester's Unity, buried his father in the village church yard, and advised the best methods of caring for the family. William was sent to live with his uncle, James Huskinson, a noted civil engineer and associate of Brassy, Lock, McKinzey and Stephenson, contractors, who were engaged on the building of Drayton canal near Dudley, Staffordshire. Mr. James Huskinson immediately placed his nephew in school there, where he remained until the family moved to Paris, France, where the lad was placed in an English-French school, as it was necessary to learn the latter language in following the career of civil engineering. At the age of sixteen Wm. Huskinson, ambitious to commence work, was placed in charge of two hundred men as time keeper on a railroad, being built between Havre de Gras and Beach Maison, Lafayette. Later he acted in the same capacity on a road which was being built from Rouen to Paris (the only other road then being the one from Paris to Versailles of 15 miles long.)

At this period the French government contracted and built all its railroads. It was at the above place, while acting as time keeper, that during the absence of his employers, the ingenious young lad suggested and devised a plan to replace an overturned and badly wrecked engine on the track. His original method greatly pleased his superiors, who appreciated his practical ability later on. For the purpose of conveying cotton to the coast it was deemed advisable to build a series of viaducts from a town called Barrentown to the nearest seaport. There were 45 arches in these viaducts, the height being 110 feet high, opening 60 feet. The French scheme was a decided failure for every arch fell simultaneously through the error of laying the blade in a grove, instead of in a straight line, and stopped the opening of the Rouen Railroad for ten months. Some time after this the French government decided to send two hundred select men to Algiers, Africa, appointing as interpreter Wm. Huskinson. He proved an excellent auxiliary between the French and English engineers. Algeria, the capital, had just been captured by the French and De Sabb Del Kaver sent as prisoner to Paris. France wished to build fortifications at this point, but Al-

WILLIAM HUSKINSON.

giers town being built like shelving on the side of the mountain, fever ran rampant and it so infected the new comers that many died and the remainder contended with many a hardship ere *La Belle France* was reached again.

When Mr. Huskinson finally returned to France he recuperated with his uncle, Thomas Lawson, an old Waterloo soldier and wealthy mill owner. After recovering his health the young man associated himself again with Brassy and Stephenson who had contracted for the building of a railroad from Boulogne and Amiens to Paris. This work finished, he determined to come to America. On arriving in this country he went immediately to Newburg, New York, just at the time the Newburg branch of the York & Erie Railroad was being built into Chester, Pennsylvania. The boat Mary Powell was ploughing the waters of the Hudson then. In Newburg he met the Sharp Brothers, old friends of his uncle James and both wealthy contractors, who made much of him. Yielding to their pursuasion, he invested part of his savings ($1,000) and took up contracting and grading there. The New York Central was not built at this time and impatient at the delay the young man took the boat, Hendrich Hudson, landing in Albany a week after that city had been almost destroyed by fire. Between Albany and Schnectady engines and cars of English make were operating, but beyond to Buffalo stage coaches were in use.

Mr. Huskinson, hearing of the wonders of the west, traveled hither, reaching Cincinnati, where he took the boat General Taylor for Memphis. In Ohio he found Toledo a mere hamlet and the Miami Canal just in use, but travel was slow as it took ten days to reach Cincinnati from the above hamlet. He arrived in Memphis after eight days journey. The landing was knee deep in water and the wading to the waiting dray, signalized by the red gleam of a lantern, was but a fitting prelude to the continuous slush and mire leading to the Redmont hotel.

As the destination of all travelers seemed to be New Orleans, Mr. Huskinson went immediately to this place where he met many wealthy sugar planters through his knowledge of the French language. He soon became engaged in contracting for a railroad between New Orleans and Lake Ponchartrain. The only road hitherto used was ballasted with oyster and cockle shells, and mules were used to cart travelers to and fro. In New Orleans he finished up several contracts, and then with friends started to walk to Baton Rouge, sending their baggage ahead by boat. Many deer, panthers, wolves and red-skins were met with en route, and settlers' cabins were scattered and very scarce too, so the travelers concluded to finish their journey by boat to Vicksburg. In this city Mr. Huskinson undertook the strenuous task of building a railroad out of Vicksburg through the same swamps that so troubled General Grant during the civil war. The labor in the south at this time was all slave labor and the ordeal was most trying, for the negroes were very trifling and lazy when their overseer was not by. At this point in his career Mr. Huskinson met with an adventure—that of rescuring two young lads from drowning, at imminent risk to his own life, thereby contracting the dreaded swamp fever.

Several prominent people, among whom were the parents of the two lads, immediately interested themselves in caring for the young Englishman. Among these was one Dr. Spencer, who proved his friendship by sending him north on the boat, Blue Wing, where the doctor's friends again took the sick man in charge until better.

It was while in Frankfort, Kentucky, that Mr. Henry Carmicheal met Mr. Huskinson and interested him in the building of a tunnel 1,500 feet long from the edge of the Kentucky river into the city, thereby conveying passengers into town by this means instead of up the steep hillside road. With this gentleman Mr. Huskinson built the road leading into Lexington from Frankfort, also taking a contract to quarry out the large monument of solid rock, 30 feet square and 16 feet deep, which Frankfort cemetery erected in memory of the Kentucky Fillibusters killed in Cuba, among whom were the sons of Gov. Crittenden, Breckenridge, Henry Clay and Orlando Brown, U. S. Senator. While proceeding with the notable work Mr. Huskinson got well acquainted with the Crittenden and Brown families.

George Mason Brown, who owned some 35,000 acres of timber, contracted with Mr. Huskinson to put in a crib on his place, thirty miles below Frankfort, offering the hospitality of his large brick mansion with its retinue of slaves, if he would consent to undertake the job. It took six months to finish this work as several other deep carryalls had to be made and there was much dense timber to be cleared for the raising of corn, hemp and tobacco. This was hard labor, tempered, however, with the courtesy and hospitality of the Brown family. Yielding to their pursuasion, Mr. Huskinson went to Lexington and became a naturalized citizen of the United States before departing with the influx to St. Louis.

As this city did not appeal to the ambitious man and he heard of the railroad about to be built by Godfrey and Gilman between Alton and Springfield, he went to Alton where he found all operations suspended because of lack of material and worse still, lack of engineering skill. Being well experienced in civil engineering Mr. Huskinson found no trouble in proving his efficiency.

The Madisonville and Indiana Railroad supplied an engine which hauled in twelve dump cars the dirt from Burn's and Berry's cut where the embankment was naught but soft mud, holding many trees and bushes. Mr. Huskinson first went to work packing up the culvert which, like the old stone depot at Alton, is built upon two thicknesses of oak plank embankment. It took from the winter of 1851 to 1852 to fill up the coal branch embankment, for the engine was decrepit. Piasa St. (Alton) is filled in twenty feet deep. This work accomplished Mr. Huskinson started to lay track from Springfield to Woodside. In the meantime, Mr. Edward Keating representing the firm of Henry Dwight of New York, had advanced Godfrey and Gilman $1,000,000 to open and build their road, taking a mortgage as security and bonding the road. On March 5th with six picked men Mr. Huskinson carried a letter from Mr. Keating to Mr. Virgil Hickox. Along the line of the proposed road there were rail chains, spikes and gangs of men, ready to commence work. There was scarcely, if any, grading prepared, for the track started from where the present depot is to

where the street leads to the State house; hence the ravine, during heavy rains, was filled to the depth of 12 feet with water. Bridge timbers were cut and five or six bents of trestle were erected twenty feet high. This arduous work performed, teams hauled material only as wanted. Most of the track, however, was laid on virgin sod. Later on, the track was raised two or more feet to keep it well out of water. Five hundred feet north of the public road at Woodside there was a ravine where it became necessary to put up six bents of trestle to reach the trestle grade. When the Wabash Railroad was reached Mr. Huskinson made the crossing by putting in the right of way of the Springfield and Meredosia Railroad, thus passing Woodside station and building on until it reached the head of the grade going down to Lick Creek.

Mr. Huskinson now returned to Alton, in order to lay the track between Brighton and Watt's place. Traveling by stage was not alone very hazardous but extremely irksome, for creeks were often eight feet deep and many times passengers had to alight and help propel the mud stuck stage from the mire by the means of hickory poles carried along for that purpose. Farm houses were few and bearings were taken mostly by timber lands. At Carlinville Bob Hankins' hostelry was also a relay station where fresh horses awaited the transit across the dangerous Macoupin creek at Holliday Mills, whence it took some four or five days of plunging, swaying and creaking for the lumbering coach to reach Upper Alton. After finishing the track between Brighton and Watt's place the tremendous mountain of earth in the locality of Hoffmaster's farm, necessitated the grading down one side of the cut in order to lay the track thereon, then make a back turn and the putting of ties and iron ahead. So bents 12 feet thick and 18 feet high were erected and soon track laying commenced at both Coop's Creek and Macoupin, two engines hauling six cars to the requiring points. The Mason shops at Springfield furnished 40 flat cars, and Pattison, New Jersey, the engines. Progress being thus assured, September 1st found the bridge in readiness for track laying. The south end of this wonderful bridge has twelve bents, the ties being red cedar from Tennessee.

The placing of ties, laying and spiking them down, chair rails on the chains, all this precise work was most scrupulously performed by this experienced builder; likewise the trestle over Macoupin and Hurricane creek, and also the famous Piasa bridge on the Jerseyville Branch was designed and built by him and is a bridge 90 feet high and 304 feet in length. It is a five arch stone structure. These bridges, planned and executed by this ingenious man, stand today as pieces of mechanical work worthy of this artisan and master worker, Mr. Huskinson. It is needless to say these monuments of skill have been highly commented upon by the best of experts, for they stand today as a silent witness of the strenuous and tireless efforts of this worker.

On July 4th to celebrate the finishing of the railroad Messrs. Godfrey and Gilman tendered the public a free excursion over it, the train consisting of ten flat cars, well canopied over with bushes, and streaming with banners and emblems of joy. The building of the Chicago & Alton Railroad was due to the faithful and persistent energy of Mr.

Huskinson, whose efforts were so thoroughly appreciated by the officers and people at large, that many valuable presents were offered him, but the modest and retiring nature of Mr. Huskinson sought only a just recompense for his tireless labors and he refused all else.

The Chicago & Alton Railroad is indebted to Mr. Huskinson for the invention of the split switch and frog and the suggestion of its colored light system, besides many other inventions given gratis.

He remained with the Chicago & Alton Railroad many years, being director of the Missouri branch representing the Mitchell interest. He was highly esteemed by President Blackstone and Mr. McMullen and a life long friend of R. P. Tansey, president of the St. Louis Transfer Company and of Sir Wm. Van Horne, builder and president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. This latter gentleman wrote to Mr. Huskinson urging him to join his work, but business interests prevented such an alliance. Mr. Huskinson was asked by Mr. Henry of Joliet to enter a partnership with him in the construction of a railroad in Texas and in which he was interested, but owing to other arrangements he declined to accept the same.

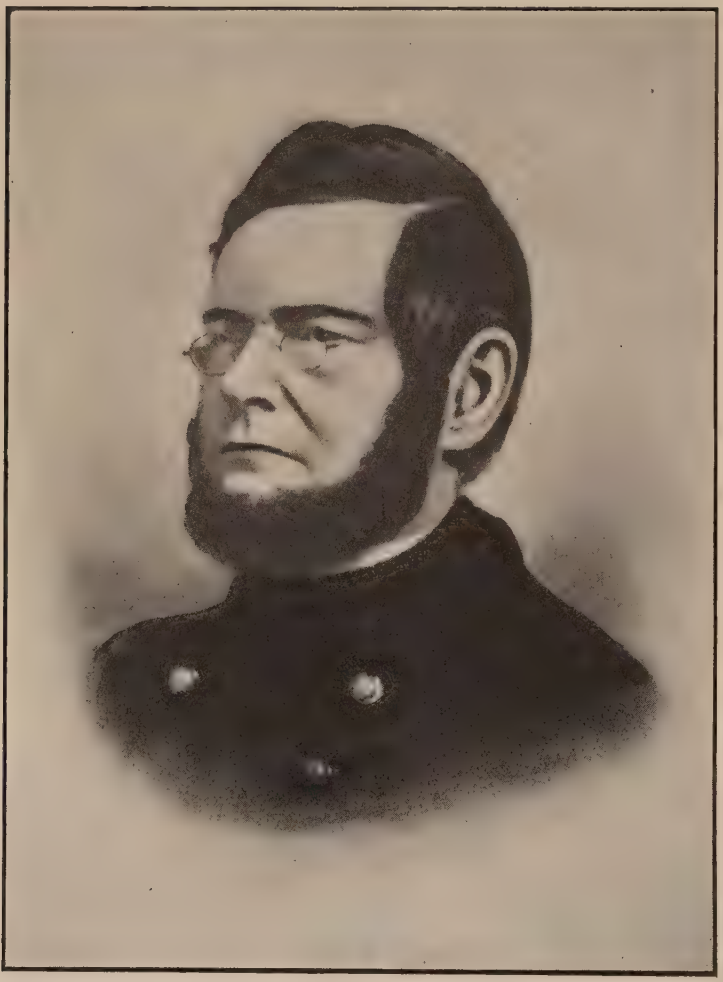
Mr. Huskinson owned valuable tracts in Macoupin county and was a partner of Mr. Henry Cooper of Nilwood in the saw mills known as Huskinson Mills. He was associated with Robert Crawford and John Coppinger in saw mills around Godfrey, and was also a partner with Henry Watson and Wm. Armstrong in the Alton McAdam and Stone Ballast Company, which had large quarries and crushers situated on the Mississippi river near Alton.

With Mr. David Ryan he contracted and built the government road in Springfield, Missouri, leading to the cemetery.

On October 20, 1852, by Rev. George Halliday, Mr. Huskinson was married to Mary Jane Braznell, daughter of Daniel Braznell, pioneer of Alton, Illinois, by whom he had a large family. His wife, a highly esteemed woman, preceded him to the spirit world some ten years. Mr. Huskinson was a member of the St. Paul's Episcopal church in which he was a senior warden. He was also a Mason and Knight Templar, being a member of Piasa Lodge A. F. and A. M., No. 27, and Alton Chapter No. 8 R. A. M., and Belvidere Commandery No. 2 of Knights Templars of Alton and Alton Council No. 3.

During the civil war Mr. Huskinson was commissioned by war governor Yates as captain, but his company was never called to the field.

Mr. Huskinson was often importuned by friends to seek public office, but preferred his laborious life, following his career of usefulness to the end, and passing away to honored rest at the ripe age of 79 years, revered and respected by all who knew him.



SIMEON FRANCIS.

SIMEON FRANCIS.

By Harriet Rumsey Taylor.

No history of central Illinois would be complete without including the name and some of the fame of Simeon Francis.

He and his brother were the first editors of the Illinois State Journal, which positions they held for a quarter of a century. Published in Illinois in so early a day as 1831, the tone of the editorials of that paper must have done much toward shaping the opinions of many voters in regard to the great crisis so near at hand.

Mr. Francis was born in Weathersfield, Conn., May 14, 1796. He moved to New London, in the same state, and later married Miss Eliza, eldest daughter of Benjamin and Mary (Holt) Rumsey. After his marriage he moved to Buffalo, N. Y., where he formed a partnership under the firm name of Lazewell and Francis, and published the Buffalo Emporium until it was forced to suspend in 1828, in consequence of the excitement in reference to the abduction of Morgan, charged against the Masonic Fraternity, of which Mr. Francis was a member. In 1831, as before stated, he came to Springfield, and engaged in the publication of the Journal. In a very few years there came to his office a stranger from New Salem seeking the editor of the paper whose editorials in tone generally agreed with his own ideas. The journeys were frequent and the tall, gentle young man grew more and more interesting to Mr. Francis and that gentleman began loaning him such books as his visitor's ravenous appetite for learning craved, Blackstone among the number. For such books as Mr. Lincoln wanted, Mr. Francis could easily obtain for him.

At last Mr. Francis determined to introduce Mr. Lincoln to his friends in Springfield, feeling sure that the enjoyment would be mutual. In order to accomplish this object Mr. and Mrs. Francis invited a number of their friends to spend the evening at their house, to meet the gentle young man from New Salem. In this party were ministers, doctors, judges, lawyers and merchants, with their wives. And here Mr. Lincoln first met Springfield society. This was probably his first entrance into polite society, for he entered the parlor with his hat upon his head, and when Mr. Francis offered to take the hat, Mr. Lincoln placed his hand in that of Mr. Francis'—*that hand* whose after fame went round the world.

The friendship of these two men continued through Mr. Lincoln's life. Mr. Francis lived then where the opera house now stands. His was one of the most beautiful homes in Springfield, surrounded by almost every known variety of rose and shrub, fruit and flower, of which

he was a great lover. When Professor Turner of Jacksonville introduced the osage orange as a new kind of durable fence, Mr. Francis had them planted all around his grounds. This beautiful, growing fence, which was kept closely trimmed, was the object of much attention and interest. All new discoveries in the horticultural or agricultural lines were eagerly experimented with by this interested man, and through his efforts the Chinese sugar cane became so well known throughout the State that people were better prepared to serve themselves with sugar and syrup through the civil war than it would have been deemed possible a few years before.

The purest white sugar and several shades of brown were exhibited at a sugar convention held in Mr. Francis' office before the war began.

His love of horticulture had a large field to work in, since every year he was the power behind the throne in the management of our horticultural exhibitions. Then every florist in the city—and that meant nearly every mother and daughter—brought their floral offerings to the old State house, with which to decorate the rotunda, where these exhibitions were usually held. Every pillar and stairway was made to blossom as the rose, and the walls were covered with exquisite floral designs, and tables were arranged along every side, and spaces filled with tables upon which to exhibit the flowers and designs. Mr. Francis went here, there, and everywhere, directing, advising, encouraging, until the whole place was fairy-land, and ready for the crowds of people who came to view the beautiful exhibition. The adjoining towns poured their inhabitants into this capital city, to enjoy the rare day and evening. Then the premiums were distributed and hearts were made glad, for the premiums were handsome and numerous.

Mr. Francis was an indefatigable worker in the establishment of our State fair. For many years he was the corresponding secretary of the association. His efforts in the work were tireless, and the success the fairs have attained attest the good beginning.

He became interested in the subject of employment for girls. There were so few avenues open for work for them—teaching, sewing and housework were about all the lines of work girls could engage in. Never had a girl been known to tend store or office, or act as a writer in any public place in Springfield. Mr. Francis thought some one ought to start out on a new line, so he enlisted the interest and help of two of his acquaintances, and taught them the compositors' art. They were the daughters of two of Springfield's first physicians, whose families attended the same church that he attended, the Episcopal. These young ladies, educated, accomplished, favorites in society, were the pioneers of the working class of girls, whose name is legion now.

On retiring from the Journal, in July 1855, Mr. Francis started the Illinois Farmer, which he continued as publisher and then editor, for some three years. In 1859 he closed his business in Springfield and moved to Portland, Ore. Here he engaged in the publication of the Oregon Farmer and was president of the Oregon State Agricultural Society. He established also a newspaper, called the Oregonian, which is still published.

In 1861 President Lincoln appointed Mr. Francis paymaster, with rank of major, of all troops in the northwest, with residence at Ft. Vancouver, Washington territory. In attending to his duties he traveled hundreds of miles in a carriage with a clerk and a driver, with an escort of twelve men on horseback, an ambulance containing cooking utensils, etc., etc., going days together without seeing anything more interesting than sagebrush and jack rabbits. The names of the forts visited by him were Colville, Dalles, Grand Round, Haskins, San Juan, Steilacoom, Walla Walla, Yam Hill and Camp Watson.

Mr. Francis and his wife corresponded with the family of the writer of this article up to within a month of his death, and she has letters written at several of these forts concerning these journeys which are exceedingly interesting, and she would be glad to read them to any of Mr. Francis' old friends. They would be of interest in this paper, but as they do not relate to our own State of Illinois, perhaps they are not appropriate. An extract from one of them, however, is not misplaced. It is dated from Ft. Vancouver, W. T., May 24, 1865. Mr. Francis wrote: "The death of my old friend is most dreadful to me. Time passes—but the dead Lincoln is always before me, let me tell you. When the news came to the State I was on a trip of duty to Ft. Yam Hill. When returning to Salem to take the steamer for home I saw on a distant hill, a church and a flagstaff, on which a flag was at half mast. It chilled me to look at it. I thought Lincoln was dead. We went along till we came to the river, and I saw the flags at half mast in Salem. I could restrain my feelings no longer. I said to my clerk and my driver, 'Mr. Lincoln is dead,' and it was so. A funereal gloom has been over the country since, and over my heart and the hearts of those about me. May God control the terrible event for the good of our nation. Surely our beloved has sat in dust and ashes for the great sin of slavery. Is it not enough, O God of our fathers! May Thy chastening turn to kindness and our nation be purified and again see prosperity as in days past."

Mr. Francis died October 25, 1872, in Portland, Oregon, and lies buried on a beautiful hillside in Riverview cemetery in that city, where we have twice, long years apart, covered his grave and that of his wife, with the charming roses they loved so well while here.

MONUMENT UNVEILED.

DEDICATION OF SHABBONA PARK, LA SALLE COUNTY, ILLINOIS, AUG. 29, 1906.

From the Ottawa Journal, Aug. 30, 1906.

Shabbona Park, located fourteen miles north of Ottawa, in Freedom township, was dedicated yesterday and the monument erected in memory of the fifteen white people slain by a band of Black Hawk Indians, May 20, 1832, was unveiled in the presence of four thousand people.

The gathering was a notable one and one of the largest that ever congregated on such an occasion in La Salle county. The weather was as fine as could be desired and the crowd began arriving at 9:00 o'clock in the forenoon. The pavilion which was intended to hold several hundred people was soon overflowing and the greater portion of the crowd had to remain outside and hear the best way they could. The business houses of Earlville closed for the day and nearly every resident in that part of the county was present at the dedication and unveiling. In order to get some idea of the crowd a close estimate placed the number of carriages at 600 and the number of automobiles at 65.

SHABBONA PARK.

Replete with thrilling incidents of Indian warfare and the earliest days, the history of Illinois boasts of few of greater importance or historical interest than the Indian Creek Massacre, which occurred on May 20, 1832, near the present site of Harding, La Salle county. In this massacre, according to statements made by three survivors of the attack, there were fifteen lives sacrificed to the cruel rifle and scalping knife of the Indians of Black Hawk's hand. Thirty years after the massacre a monument, which still marks the resting place of the victims of the cruel red man, was erected to the memory of those unfortunates by William Munson, who married one of the young women who escaped the wrath of the Indian. The monument was erected at a cost of $700.

In later years, the more thoughtful and patriotic residents of La Salle county became desirous of erecting a more substantial monument to the victims of the massacre. As the result of this organization and their efforts in regard to securing an appropriation from the State Legislature, a bill was passed setting aside $5,000 for the erection and maintenance of a monument to mark the resting place of the massacre victims. The scene of the massacre, now called Shabbona Park, comprising seven and one-half acres, was set aside as a memorial park in 1902.

MONUMENT ERECTED 1906 TO THE MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS OF THE INDIAN CREEK MASSACRE OF 1832.

The new park is an ideal picnic place. The park has been cleared away and new trees planted. The spring has been enclosed and with the commodious pavilion and out buildings it leaves nothing to be desired. There are now about two or three hundred visitors there every Sunday. The mill wheel near by was used in the mill which was standing on the site of the tragedy at the time of the massacre. The names appearing on the monument are: *."William Pedigrew, wife and two children; William Hall, 45; Mary J. R., 45; Elizabeth, 8 years; William Davis, wife and five children; Henry George.*

"The new monument erected on the site of Indian Creek Massacre under the direction of the LaSalle County Memorial Association." The monument is of granite, is 16 feet in height, weighs 25 tons and was erected at a cost of $2,000. On the monument are graven the names of the settlers who fell victims of the savage wrath of Black Hawk's band, the date of the massacre and the names of the board of directors of the association who were in office at the time the monument became a reality. This board is composed of the following: Duncan Dunn, Freedom, president; W. R. Lewis, Grand Rapids, secretary; Charles Kember, Serena, treasurer; S. U. Lawry, C. M. Pool, William Chapman and Michael Flaherty, all of Freedom.

FORENOON PROGRAM.

The forenoon program opened at 11:00 o'clock with music by the Sheridan band. Rev. Abel invoked the Divine blessing after which Chairman Duncan Dunn introduced M. N. Armstrong of this city, a member of the La Salle county board of supervisors, who delivered the dedicatory address.

DEDICATORY ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow Citizens—We have met here today upon this historic spot to do something, or rather shall I say to applaud what has been done to commemorate the virtues of those hardy, old pioneers who endured the greatest hardships and suffered untold privations; yea, even laid down their very lives at the hands of the merciless Indians in order that we, their descendants, might enjoy the comforts and blessings of civilization.

Shabbona, the chief of the Pottowatamies, but a friend of the whites, was called to attend a war dance held near Dixon in May, 1832, the day after Stillman's defeat, and was then urged by Black Hawk to unite his several tribes with the Sauks in a war of extermination upon the white settlers along the frontier. Black Hawk said, "Shabbona, if you will permit your young men to unite with mine, I will have an army like the trees in the forest, and will drive the palefaces before me like the autumn leaves before an angry wind." "Aye," replied Shabbona, laying his right hand upon Black Hawk's shoulder, "but the palefaces will soon bring an army like the leaves on the trees and sweep you into the ocean beneath the setting sun." Shabbona said, "That he had made a vow to the Great Spirit when he was second in command to Tecumseh

in the battle of the Thames, that he would never again take up the tomahawk against the palefaces." But being unable to dissuade the wily Sauk Chief from his murderous designs, he turned a deaf ear to Black Hawk's appeal and stole forth from the council of war in the dead of the night and decided that he would save the lives of the frontier settlers from the terrible torture of the tomahawk and scalping knife. He saw death like a pall hanging over the white settlers; nor did he stop to consider long. He knew the consequences of becoming a traitor to his own people. He also knew that his motives would be suspected by the palefaces whom he would befriend. He knew but few of them personally, nor could he speak or understand their language. The distance to be traveled to the white settlement from Bureau creek to Dupage river is more than one hundred miles in a straight line, but the distance is much farther by the zigzag course he must take to reach them.

Could he warn them of the impending danger and save their lives? Mounting on his favorite pony at midnight, guided only by the stars for a compass he started on his long journey, coming to the southward he was joined by his son, Pyps, and away went father and son, Pyps to the westward and Shabbona to the eastward, over prairies and through the timber in the dark night, where there were no roads or bridges, pursued by Sauk spies, went this courier of mercy; turning his back upon his own people forever, well knowing that he would be branded as a Benedict Arnold, he went from house to house calling upon the people to flee for their lives, telling some to go to the Fort at Ottawa, others to Fort Dearborn at Chicago. Most of the people took his advice and fled for safety and others spurned his advice. Reluctantly leaving the latter to their fate, he pressed forward from house to house sounding the alarm, but when near Hollenbeck's Grove in Kendall county, his noble little horse fell dead, leaving the old chief horseless and alone. Snatching the saddle and bridle, he ran to the residence of the late George Hollenbeck, who furnished him with another horse, when he went on to the completion of his great undertaking. Every settler was warned along the whole frontier in time to speed to points of safety, but alas, there were a few who failed to heed the timely warning, and notably so the victims of the Indian creek massacre, where upon the 20th day of May, 1832, sixteen white men and children were killed and scalped and the two beautiful ladies, Rachel and Sylvia Hall were taken captive and carried away; hence it is that the history of the trials of the pioneer settlers of this county could not be written without also writing of the virtues of the great chief, Shabbona.

Shabbona was well known to the white settlers. He was born in 1775 and died in 1859. I, myself, when a very small boy remember well his frequent calls at my father's house, near Seneca, just south of the Illinois river, near where this old chief spent his declining days. My father, George W. Armstrong, who came to Deer Park with his mother in 1831 told me that he, a boy of 18 and his younger brother, William, then 16, together with the old chief, in November of that

SHABBONA,

The White Man's Friend.

year, built a log house for George Walker, at what is now the south end of the Illinois river bridge at Ottawa; that old Shabbona would stand upon the snow covered logs with moccasins and hold the rafters for the roof, while the two young men would pin them fast preparatory to the laying of the clap boards which they sawed out of red oak timber. This house I think, and the residence occupied by Squire Cloud, were the first two reared at that point in this county.

The great Indian chief Shabbona, for whom this park was fitly named, was buried in Evergreen cemetery at Morris, Illinois, and there on the 31st day of October, 1903, a monument was erected in his honor and dedicated, the same being a huge, granite boulder seven feet in diameter and with a simple inscription, "1775-1859, Shabbona," at the unveiling of which the Hon. P. A. Armstrong, General Thomas J. Henderson, R. C. Jordan and myself delivered addresses.

This park consists of about seven and one-half acres, and belongs to the county of LaSalle, and is for the use of all people in the State. In 1877, Mr. William Munson, who in 1834 was married to Rachel Hall, caused the monument to be erected to the memory of those who were massacred, with their names inscribed thereon, since which time little has been done to preserve the memory of the early struggles of the pioneers of this section, until recently, but within the last five years land was purchased about the old monument and the beautiful new monument we have today met to unveil and dedicate, was constructed.

We have assembled here today not only to dedicate this splendid park, but also to unveil this beautiful monument, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the officers and directors of the LaSalle County Memorial Association, and of the fact that I am a member of the memorial committee, of the board of supervisors, as well as of the fact that my grandmother, my father, and uncles were actual participants in the Black Hawk war, I bid you welcome. I extend to you the right hand of fellowship. I greet you with fraternal greetings! Hail! Salve! Welcome! Thrice welcome to you and yours! For this, your property is given, devised and bequeathed to you and to your heirs as a heritage forever.

During the address of Mr. Armstrong and at his direction the monument was unveiled by Hazel Dunn, daughter of the chairman, Duncan Dunn.

At the conclusion of the address, Miss Dell Terry favored the audience with a vocal solo and responded to the vigorous applause with an encore.

The Bureau County Republican of September 6, 1906 gives us the address delivered by the Hon. John W. Henderson of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, which followed the address of Mr. Armstrong and closed the speaking of the forenoon.

Mr. Henderson's address was one of the most enjoyable features of the day, he being a survivor of the Indian creek massacre. Mr. Henderson is now 87 years of age, yet is active and quick of thought, his talk being of more than usual interest. Mr. Henderson is a brother of Gen. T. J. Henderson, of this city, and is well known here.

This venerable survivor of the murderous raid perpetrated by the treacherous red man, spoke as follows:

"I am very glad to be with you today, to be back in the land of my boyhood and on an occasion of dedicating a memorial to the victims of the massacre. My talk will be principally, if not entirely, reminiscent, and it will be brief, I assure you. My father served in the war of 1812 under Col. Richard Johnson, and was in that regiment at the battle of the Thames, in which engagement Shabbona was second in command of the Indian forces, at which battle Tecumseh was slain. It was at this battle that Shabbona vowed to never again engage in conflict against the paleface. There has been some dispute as to who was responsible for the killing of Tecumseh. A private in the same company as my father claimed that distinction, but Shabbona, who was standing close by Tecumseh at the time, stated that Tecumseh was killed by a man who was mounted on a gray horse and who charged into the Indian lines, killing the chief with a long revolver made into a gun. From the description furnished by Shabbona the man on the gray horse was undoubtedly Col. Johnson. Mr. Henderson then related several incidents of the trip from southern Illinois by means of an ox team to the scene of the massacre. Mr. Henderson was employed by his uncle who was engaged in farming at the time of the massacre. When the alarm was spread by Shabbona, a number of the inhabitants started for the fort at Ottawa. 'At that time,' said Mr. Henderson, 'I was thirteen years of age and with several others left Indian creek for Ottawa on the Friday evening preceding the massacre. The massacre occurred on Monday afternoon, May 20, 1832, about 4 o'clock. After hearing of the massacre my uncle and a party of soldiers returned to the settlement and buried the bodies of the victims. The burying party found the bodies of Davis and Norris at a point near the location of the present pavilion. Davis, cold in death, was still grasping his rifle. The rifle had been discharged and the broken stock indicated that a terrible fight had ensued. Norris' rifle had snapped in the awful contest with the redskins as the men attempted to fight their way to the house where they could protect the women and children.'" In an interview following his talk Mr. Henderson stated that the various locations on the site of the massacre were still very familiar to him, and he indicated the exact spot where was located the mill, also the site of the Davis cabin, the dam in the creek, the blacksmith shop and other buildings, etc., which existed at the time of the massacre.

The exercises for the afternoon were opened by the Sheridan brass band. Following the musical selections by that organization, Chairman Duncan Dunn introduced the speaker of the day, Hon. Thomas J. Henderson, of Princeton, Illinois, a brother of J. W. Henderson, the survivor of the massacre, who had addressed the assemblage during the morning. In his speech Mr. Henderson said:

"The memories of other days will come back to one, however he may try to avoid them, and I am here to recount the memories of other days rather than to address you. I felt highly honored by Mr. Armstrong's invitation to be present and I cheerfully and gladly accepted

the invitation with the firm determination to be present. I impressed upon Mr. Armstrong that I would be present but also that I did not intend to make an address, and my remarks will be confined to the recounting of the memories of pioneer days. Considerable of the facts that I shall present in connection with the history of this event are not from personal observation, but were gained through conversations with my father, my mother, uncle and other relatives who were among the settlers to locate on this spot. Some of my relatives were present at the time the Indians appeared at Indian creek upon their murderous and vengeful mission. It was from these relatives that this information was gained.

"What would have happened had it not been for the massacre is entirely speculative. I might have remained with my parents in this vicinity, in LaSalle county. In the few remarks which I shall proceed to make there may be some minor discrepancies, due to the imperfections of human memory, and the fact that my knowledge of the affair is entirely heresay, having been received in conversations with my relatives who were in the settlement at the time of the trouble. To illustrate the discrepancies which may result in the relating of an event by two or more who were actual participants in the affair, caused by confusion of memory, and differences of observation, I will state that in my practice of law I have never found three witnesses in even a case so simple as an assault and battery case that will tell of the event in precisely the same way or relate the same facts. This is true regardless of how honest the witness may be and how strong his convictions. I wanted my brother to speak first because I would then be given the opportunity of correcting the mis-statements made by him, but did not want him to correct mine.

"My father made the journey from Brownsville, Tenn., to northern Illinois on horseback to find a place to make a suitable site for a settlement of relatives to locate. It was the intention of the family to locate a number of relatives in a colony. They crossed the Ohio river at Wilcox Ferry and proceeded northward through Illinois to Chicago, then Fort Dearborn. The country in that vicinity not being to their liking, because of flood, they returned to Indian creek, at Davis' settlement. At this place they settled in a sort of a colony, desiring to secure homes in a state where slavery did not exist, where it would be respectable for their children to grow up. In choosing this location I think they made a wise selection. I think this was a beautiful location for a colony of relatives to settle and reside together. I knew but little about the journey from Tennessee but I had oft-times heard my father relate to an uncle incidents of the journey, its difficulties and hardships. At one house where my father and uncle stopped upon their journey through the state, they suspected that the family which occupied the house was planning some attack upon them. Accordingly when they retired for the night they placed the bed upon the floor, using it to barricade the door. In the morning they discovered that an attempt had been made to enter the room but the

barricade had proven effectual. They returned to Tennessee with the determination to make a permanent home in Illinois. My father's description of the great prairies of Illinois caused a longing to see those prairies and to reside in the prairie country. My father carried back with him to Tennessee a quantity of the black loam so familiar to all of you. This soil he carried in the saddle bags and the sight of this soil added to the longing I already felt to locate in this prairie country.

"In the spring of 1831 my father and uncle came to Illinois and selected the site for the settlement. In the fall of 1831 the rest of the family came to Illinois, a portion of them staying in Sangamon until the spring of 1832, when they also came to the Indian creek settlement, where they were living at the time of the massacre.

"In 1838, at the age of 14, I came to Indian creek to visit my uncle, and from him I learned the story of the affair. I was taken into the timber by my uncle and I thought that it was the most beautiful country I had ever seen. I was shown the graves of the massacre victims (they were all buried in one common grave), the spot where the Munson monument now stands. My uncle also told me of the facts which led up to the massacre. Davis had built a dam across Indian creek and because of this the Indians were unfriendly to him, because the fish could not ascend the stream to the Indian village at Paw Paw. The fish had made their spawning grounds at Paw Paw and the Indians were there enabled to secure great quantities for food at that place, previous to the erection of the dam. One day Davis caught one of the Indians in the act of destroying a portion of the dam. At this Davis became enraged and grasping a stout hickory club administered a severe beating to the offender. The Indians, although dissatisfied, continued to fish at the dam each day. Great numbers of the redskins used to come down from the Indian village. The Indian who had been so roughly used by Davis returned to his village and incited a number of them against the settlers at Indian creek. The massacre was not general throughout the country, and the fact that the other victims of the massacre were killed was only because they were at Davis' settlement at the time the Indians made the attack. The massacre was planned by the treacherous savage whom Davis had beaten, solely for his own revenge, but through some mechination he had enlisted the services of a large number of his tribesmen.

Shabbona had effected a truce of some kind between the Indians and the settlers, whereby the Indians continued to fish. After the Davis incident, however, the number of fishermen at the dam gradually diminished until finally none of the Indians had been there for some days. My grandfather, who was among the settlers, was an old Indian fighter and had fought under Mad Anthony Wayne. Suspecting that there was something wrong, he suggested that a party go at once to the Indian village and find out the cause of their discontinuing their fishing. My uncle, Davis and a party of the settlers went to the village to investigate. They found the Indian village

entirely deserted. They attempted to follow the trail of the Indians but were soon overtaken by darkness and almost lost in the forest. By the light of a fire, which was started among some bushes near the settlement, the party was guided back to their homes. Learning that the village was deserted, my grandfather warned Davis, Pedigrew and the others to go to a place of safety as a matter of prudence, having heard of some trouble with the Indians at the mouth of the Fox river. Several of the women and children and some of the men, following the advice of my grandfather, left for the fort at Ottawa. When Davis returned and found that several of the settlers had left for Ottawa, he became very angry, and said, "I am not afraid of all the Indians this side of h——." He expressed his determination to sleep in his cabin that night. Davis started after the settlers who had gone to Ottawa, and, overtaking them, persuaded several of them to return with him to Indian creek. My grandfather counseled with him to at least send his (Davis') family to Ottawa, where they would be safe, but Davis scornfully refused. My grandfather would not allow his family to return, and it is because of this fact that none of his relatives, or mine, sleep beneath the monument erected by Munson.

On the day of the massacre Davis and either a son of Pedigrew or of Hall was engaged in doing some heavy blacksmithing in the shop. Robert Norris, the hired man of my grandfather, exchanged work with the helper of Davis, and as a result Norris was killed by the Indians, while the helper, who had gone to the fields to work, escaped. There is some dispute as to the number of victims of the massacre, which may, perhaps, be explained by the fact that one of the children of either Davis or of Hall had been taken captive by the Indians, they intending to carry the child away with them. But when the march was commenced the child was too young to be of service and was killed. The body of the child was, perhaps, not buried beneath this monument, and this may account for the discrepancy as to the number massacred. My authority for this statement is the relation of the facts concerning the affair by my uncle, my father and my brother, who were residing in the settlement at the time of the massacre. My brother, who addressed you this morning, was residing in the settlement at the time of the affair, having gone to Ottawa with several others of the more prudent settlers on the Friday evening preceding the massacre, which occurred on Monday.

I cannot fail to note the wonderful change which has taken place in the conditions of the country. In 1840, I came from Indian creek, in Stark county, to visit my uncle at this place. When I started on my return home I experienced the first snow storm of the winter. Reaching Homer, I was overtaken by night and the storm intensified. The winter previous there had been a murder in the vicinity in which I was then traveling, and with the coming of night my youthful fears increased. Just as I sighted the lights of Troy Grove, I heard the brush rattle, and looking around, saw two men armed with guns, creeping through the brush. I was, of course, greatly frightened, but after observing that the men did not intend to molest me, I asked them how

far I was from Princeton. I was informed that the distance was twelve miles. To the first house this side of Princeton, they informed me, was nine miles. The nearest house in any direction was at Greenfields, now LaMoille, five miles distant. I then told them that I was belated, frightened, cold and hungry. They told me to attempt to go no further, but to stay through the night with them. They had a tent provisions, etc., at the other end of the grove. Taking me with them they furnished me a plentiful meal and a comfortable bed, while they slept through the night underneath hay ricks, which were upon the ground near by the tent. They informed me that Michael Kennedy was making a settlement at Arlington and that they were carpenters employed in the building of an immense barn. They also told me that Fletcher Webster, son of Daniel Webster, had stayed all night the preceding night with them, on his way to hunt. Fletcher Webster became an able man. He was appointed secretary of the legation in China. Although formerly wild in his habits he became an unusually brilliant man. The last time I saw Fletcher Webster he was at the head of his regiment marching through the streets of New York, singing "John Brown's Body." Webster was killed while leading his regiment in battle during the Virginia campaign of the civil war."

Responding to a request from the audience for facts regarding the warning of Shabbona, Mr. Henderson stated: "My father, as well as my uncle, had said to me that Shabbona came to the field where the men were working and warned them to go to Ottawa just as soon as possible, to save their lives. The noble old chief said that there were sixty armed Indians coming. The son of Shabbona—I will not attempt to state his name—had discovered a large body of Indians prowling around in the timber above the settlement, and he at once went to the home of Shabbona and informed his father. On the night of May 19, Shabbona started upon his famous ride, and probably passed through this immediate locality on the 20th. My father protested against leaving his home and his fellow settlers, but Shabbona urged, showing the uselessness of any resistance which the settlement could offer against the large force of armed and infuriated Indians. Accordingly, those who heeded the pleadings of the brave old warrior started for the fort at Ottawa. In the retreat to Ottawa it was necessary to carry one boy a portion of the way, he being unable to continue the march. The party left the settlement only one hour before the Indians arrived."

Chairman Dunn introduced Captain J. H. Burnham, of Bloomington, Illinois, who represented the Illinois State Historical Society. Captain Burnham spoke briefly of the work of the society and said: "I was appointed a delegate to represent the State Historical Society. It is eminently proper for the State to be represented at an occasion of this kind, inasmuch as the State has made an appropriation for the park." Captain Burnham urged the organization of a LaSalle County Historical Society, speaking of the magnificent record of that county, in the advancement of the nation, in peace and in war. There are in the State about fifteen county historical societies, such as was

suggested by Captain Burnham. The numerous points of exceptional historical interest within the county received much praise from Captain Burnham, and he suggested that should such an organization be perfected, suitable meeting places for the quarterly meetings could be selected as follows: One at Shabbona Park, one at Starved Rock, and the two winter sessions at Ottawa.

That his appeal to the people of the county was not without effect was shown by the fact that no sooner had the speaker resumed his seat than a motion was offered by Elias Barton that Chairman Duncan Dunn appoint a committee of three to attend to the preliminary work of organizing a county historical society. The motion was seconded and was unanimously carried.

Report of the Secretary of the Society

January 24, 1906 to January 24, 1907.

SECRETARY'S REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR 1906.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN—I beg to submit to you my report, as your secretary for the year between the annual meeting of January 24 and 25, 1906, and the present meeting, January 24, 1907. The Historical Society has increased in membership to a very gratifying extent. Interest in the society is expressed by the newspapers throughout the State and we ought to feel greatly encouraged.

The society has now a total membership of 427. This includes 363 active members (that is, 360 annual members and three life members); thirty-four editors of Illinois newspapers, who send their papers to the library, and in exchange are made members of the historical society, the donation of the newspapers constituting the payment of dues; and twenty honorary members; or a total of annual, life, honorary and press association or newspaper members of 427. This is an increase of members of all classes for the year; of 99 new members.

Our society has lost by death, five of its active members. I wish to suggest to the members of the society that they report to the secretary the deaths of any of the members of the society. I try very hard to keep informed of the welfare of the members but it is not always possible for me to know when deaths occur.

Since our last meeting the transactions of the society for the year 1905 have been published and distributed. It is a very valuable volume. Great credit is due to the publication committee for its improvement over our preceding volume. The 1906 volume is still in the hands of the printer, but it is much farther advanced than was the 1905 volume at the time of our last annual meeting. It ought to be ready for distribution within a month or six weeks. The demand for the transactions of the society is very great. It would surprise you to know the number of calls for them that I receive, and the disappointment that is expressed when the applicant is told that all of our numbers, except the latest, are out of print. Old book dealers are now buying them whenever they get a chance and are asking high prices for them. A State Senator, to whom the society is under obligation for many favors, has earnestly advised asking the General Assembly for a special appropriation for the purpose of having them reprinted. There seems to be some valid objections to this however, as there are in existence, mostly in the State of Illinois, at least 3,000 of

each of these publications, all issued within the past eight years. It seems to many of our members, that with so much valuable matter still unpublished, it is wiser to bend all our efforts toward the publication of new or unpublished material. These are matters which it will be the duty of the society and its publication committee to consider. There has been a splendid growth along the line of local historical societies. Our committee on local historical societies will report and give you full information along this most interesting and important line. At the meeting of the Illinois State Library Association, held in this city last May, Capt. J. H. Burnham read an address on the subject of libraries as local history centers, and how librarians can aid the State Historical Society. This excellent paper has borne fruit for the library association has appointed a delegate to this meeting who will address the society upon this subject, a subject upon which too much stress cannot be laid, for if local historical societies are aided by their town or high school libraries, it gives them at least a place of deposit, and where there is no local historical society the busy librarian can add to her tasks the duty of keeping watch for local historical material, books by local authors, manuscripts, celebrations of local historical events and can suggest to the owner of historical material that the State Historical Society library is the place for valuable books and manuscripts, etc. I will leave to the delegate from the library association the duty of pointing out the many ways in which librarians and local societies can be of service to the State society. I wish to report that the Illinois State Commission to the Jamestown Exposition has asked me, as the representative of the Historical Society and Historical Library, to prepare for the Jamestown Exposition an historical exhibit to be placed in the Illinois State building at Jamestown.

I am attempting to make an historical map of the State. I find that it is rather an ambitious project. I am, of course, using a great deal of the material from the late Rufus Blanchard's historical map, but I hope to make some corrections and additions. I am receiving most generous assistance from the members of the Historical Society throughout the State and also from several of the county superintendents of schools, whom we are not fortunate enough to count as members of the society. This map will probably be on quite a large scale. It will occupy a prominent place in the Jamestown historical exhibit, and it is likely that the board of trustees of the library may decide to have a number of copies printed for distribution. I also expect to use quite a large number of fac-simile photographs of the papers found in the archives of the southern Illinois counties for the historical library by Prof. C. W. Alvord. These I expect to use in making a manuscript and pictorial history of Illinois as a county of Virginia. In brief, I want to show the growth of Illinois from her Virginia beginnings. I would be very glad to receive suggestions in regard to this exhibit.

I wish again to speak to you in regard to changing the time for holding the annual meetings of the society. During the last week in January the weather is likely to be inclement and many of our members are unable to leave their homes. A change in the time of holding the

annual meetings would require an amendment to the constitution of the society, but as so many of the members of the society have expressed themselves as in favor of such a change, I beg to submit the matter to you for your consideration. I also wish to suggest that the society is now so large that it would be well if special meetings were occasionally held. The one annual meeting hardly seems sufficient. We have quite a large local membership which, with the membership in our neighboring cities now connected with Springfield by interurban railroad lines, would insure a good attendance on occasional lectures or addresses. These meetings could be held in the library and would be valuable and interesting, and would probably be well attended. As you know, many gentlemen would be willing to come from a distance to address the historical society in the spring or the fall of the year who do not dare risk their health by making the trip in January. Each year some of our speakers fail us on account of the inclemency of the weather. I would also like to have the board of directors consider the subject of quarterly or occasional circulars or bulletins being issued by the society. These publications would be of use and interest in connection with local historical societies, and for many other purposes.

The interest in the cause of State history continues to increase. Clubs all over the State are studying State and local history. Each mail brings letters asking for assistance and advice. I, with my most faithful and obliging assistant, try to answer these calls, but such reference work would take more than the entire time of one person if it was as fully attended to as we would like it to be. We were very proud to receive a visit from the Pawnee Woman's Club, who held a special meeting in the library. The members of the club were much interested in the collections of the library. We have had visits from a number of history classes and we are always glad to have the young people come. Their interest and their criticism are both inspiring. A move has been made by the society in the direction of securing a genealogical collection. A committee was appointed for the purpose of making recommendations as to how the society could best proceed to build up a genealogical collection, from its already excellent beginnings. This committee will make its own report and recommendations. As I have said in previous reports the work of the society and of the library are so intimately connected that it is not possible to separate the work of the librarian of the library and the secretary of the society, even in making a report. The library now numbers over 19,000 books, pamphlets, etc. The collection of Lincolniana is daily receiving additions. The number of Lincoln books, pamphlets, broadsides and manuscripts is surprising. It is a never failing source of interest to visitors. I have never known one person, man, woman or child, to enter the library who was not interested in the Lincoln collection. In this connection I wish to call your attention to the fact that next year, 1908, will be the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. As the year 1858 and the "debates" may be in a sense called the year upon which Illinois entered upon her importance as a political power in the United States, the celebration of this semi-centennial assumes a broad signifi-

cance as a commemoration of an important epoch in Illinois history. A committee will report upon plans for this celebration. The Illinois State Historical Society has no great events to chronicle in its workings for the year 1906. It has received no large donations, but it has gone steadily forward. It has increased in membership, in effectiveness, and interest in it has spread throughout this State and into neighboring states. I call your attention with pride to the fact that nearly all recent writers on western history quote from our publications. If we have done nothing wonderful, we have grown rapidly, solidly and normally. There have been no fitful gusts of interest. Interest in the society and its work has never wavered nor grown weary. We are no longer among the small historical societies. We are young, it is true, but we are lusty and strong. I point with pride to the names of the men and women who make up the membership of the Illinois State Historical Society. There is one point upon which I wish to make a strong appeal to the directors and membership of the society. That is upon the collection of manuscripts. We are so very much in need of original manuscripts, that I would like to beg the president to appoint each member of the society a special committee to collect manuscripts for the library. There is not a town, not a village, but what has some records which by permission of its officials might be deposited in the historical library. There is a law which authorizes county supervisors to deposit records of purely historical value in the historical library or the State university library. There is surely not a member of the society but knows of collections of letters, personal or political, which would be of interest and value to this collection. I feel this need so strongly that I wish to impress upon you gentlemen and ladies, the fact that the collection of original manuscripts, the sources for original investigation, is the crying need of the library and the society. I urge you to devise some means of assisting the board of trustees of the library in collecting such material.

As I have before stated the Historical Society has had a most prosperous year, and I congratulate you, gentlemen, upon its flourishing condition and excellent prospects.

Respectfully,

Jessie Palmer Weber,

Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Treasurer's Report, Jan. 24, 1906—Jan. 24, 1907.

RECEIPTS.		
Amount on hand from 1905		$ 27 65
Received from annual dues		217 00
Total receipts		$244 65
EXPENDITURES.		
Paid for printing circulars, programs, etc.	$38 75	
Postage	32 00	
Maldaner & Son, supplies for annual meeting	18 35	
Mary T. Hudson, services at annual meeting	10 00	
Mabel C. Peterson, services at annual meeting	5 00	
R. A. Guest, services at annual meeting	10 00	
Miss Jane Addams, expenses	15 00	
F. G. Turner, expenses	32 50	
Bell Miller, supplies for annual meeting	8 75	
R. L. Berry, piano	8 00	
Leland Hotel	5 00	
Daisy Mullen, stenographer	10 00	
E. Saltzenstein, supplies	6 00	
Total expenditures		199 35
Balance		$43 30

NECROLOGIST'S REPORT

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society Who Have Died During the Year, January 24, 1906 to January 24, 1907.

JOSEPH MERRICK BUSH.

SAMUEL P. WHEELER.

JACOB SCHNECK.

GEORGE F. WIGHTMAN.

JAMES HENRY RAYMOND.

JOSEPH MERRICK BUSH.

Joseph Merrick Bush was born January 16, 1822, in Pittsfield, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, and died at Pittsfield, Illinois, June 14, 1906.

Joseph Merrick Bush, editor and proprietor of the Pike County Democrat, was born Jan. 16, 1822, in Pittsfield, Berkshire county, Mass.; graduated at Williams' College (Mass.) in 1838, and removed the same fall to Pittsfield, Pike county, Ill., where he has ever since resided. He was admitted to the bar, and in 1848 he married the daughter of John U. Grimshaw, and devoted most of his time to farming up to 1865, when he purchased and took the control of the Democrat. He afterwards held the office of State Senator, United States Commissioner for the Southern district of Illinois, master in chancery, president of the board of education, Pittsfield, president Pike County Agricultural Society, and took an active interest in all measures looking to the advancement of the public interest.

JACOB SCHNECK, M. D.

Jacob Schneck was born near New Harmony, Posey county, Indiana, Dec. 11, 1843, and died at Mt. Carmel, Illinois, Dec. 18, 1906.

John F. Schneck, the father of Dr. Jacob Schneck, was born in Germany, August 23, 1812. In 1839 he emigrated to America and settled in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and there remained until 1843, when he removed west to Indiana, and settled at New Harmony, in Posey county. He married Miss Elizabeth Burkhart, of Lancaster, Pa., January 26, 1843. She was a native of Alsace, then a province of France, born in 1823, but was only seven years of age when her parents emigrated to America, and settled near Millerstown in the above named county and state. Jacob, the subject of this sketch, was the eldest of the family of John F. and Elizabeth Schneck. He was reared upon the farm, and received a fair education in the schools of his native county. He remained at home until soon after the breaking out of the civil war, when, on the 13th day of November, 1861, he enlisted as a private in Company E of the 60th Regiment, Indiana Volunteer Infantry. He was captured while on the skirmish line at the battle of Jackson, which occurred a few days after the fall of Vicksburg. He was paroled and sent north. Owing to some irregularity in the exchange, he failed to be exchanged regularly, therefore did not rejoin his command, but re-enlisted, entering the naval service at Brooklyn, New York. The date of the latter enlistment was May 18, 1864. He was assigned to duty on a vessel that had a roving commission, and whose chief duty it was to watch and capture blockade runners. He was subsequently assigned to duty on the Metacomet, and took part in the naval campaign off Mobile and at Fort Morgan and Spanish Fort. He was mustered out and discharged from the service at Philadelphia, May 31, 1865. He returned home, and feeling the necessity of having a better education went to school and spent some time in the academy at Owensville, fitting himself for the profession of teaching. In 1867 he went to Olney, in Richland county, Illinois, and taught school, and while there concluded to enter the profession of medicine. He commenced the study under the direction of Dr. Goslin, of Olney. The next year he came to Mt. Carmel, taught school and continued his studies under Dr. William Graham. In the winter of 1868-69 he took a course in the Chicago Medical College. His money being exhausted, he was compelled to go back to teaching, by

which means he secured sufficient funds to enable him to enter the medical college for the second course. He graduated in March, 1871, with the degree of M. D. He commenced a pratice in Mt. Carmel, which, by close attention and uniform success, soon grew extensive and lucrative. Dr. Schneck belonged to the progressive order of physicians, and kept fully posted in all the new methods and latest discoveries in the science of medicine. He was president of the Wabash Medical Society, and a member of the State Medical and Natural History Society, the Illinois State Historical Society, a member of the A. F. and A. M., Mt. Carmel Lodge No. 239, and Mt. Carmel Chapter No. 159.

On the 28th of November, 1872, he was united in marriage with Miss Mary, daughter of John and Mary Hartmann. He was a Republican in politics and an advocate of the temperance cause.

GEORGE F. WIGHTMAN.

George F. Wightman was born in Ontario, Canada, Feb. 5, 1827, and therefore lacked but a few days of being eighty years old at the time of his death. With his parents he came to Mercer county, Illinois, in 1836. His father's house was a station on the underground railroad and many a poor slave was sent by him on the road to freedom, our subject on more than one occasion acting as conductor. The father died in 1863. The son remained upon the farm until he was seventeen, and in that time only attended school two weeks, his primary education being attended to by his mother, who was a well educated woman. In 1846 he spent two months on a steamboat on the Mississippi, but his time was principally spent on the farm and in his father's cooper shop. Having thoroughly mastered the cooper's trade he came direct to Lacon and entered the employ of Wm. Fisher & Co. in their cooper shop and packing house as foreman. For thirteen years he remained with this firm, working, however, only in the fall and winter. In the summer he took up civil engineering. In 1859 and 1860 Mr. Wightman was engaged in steamboating on the Illinois river, having the command at different periods of the steamers Edmonia, Mavastar and the Diana. His run was from LaSalle to St. Louis, and his boats were for freighting only. When the civil war broke out he secured a position in the quartermaster's department. After the battle of Pittsburg Landing he enlisted in the Independent Tennessee Infantry and served until after the capture of Vicksburg, when he again engaged in steamboating as captain of a Mississsippi river transport for the government, and also on a gunboat. He continued in this line until the close of the war, when he was made superintendent of ocean and river transportation with headquarters at Galveston, Texas. He was on the transport Diligent at the time of the Red River expedition and was engaged in carrying despatches. He was mustered out of the service and honorably discharged in April, 1866, one year after the surrender of Lee.

Returning to Lacon, Major Wightman again engaged in his old occupation as a civil engineer and soon afterwards was elected to the Legislature from his district. It was during this session that the ever memorable contest occurred resulting in the election of John A. Logan as United States Senator, Major Wightman remaining loyal to Logan. While still serving as Representative he was appointed postmaster of Lacon, resigning at the end of one year to accept the position of civil engineer of the city of Peoria, and for twelve years he continued to act in that capacity. In 1893 he returned to Lacon and this has been his home ever since. He was county surveyor at the time of his death and had been re-elected to that office time and again.

MAJ. GEORGE F. WIGHTMAN
and his Granddaughter, Annie Bellows.

While he was engaged as city engineer Major Wightman declared that he had discovered on the opposite bank of the river the site of Fort Creve Coéur, erected by LaSalle in 1680, the scene of the first occupation of this State by the white man. This site lies nearly opposite the old water works plant on the crest of the hill on the Tazewell county shore, and the Major declared that parts of the entrenchments were still in existence. His opinion was disputed by the Daughters of the American Revolution, who maintain that the site of the old fort was near Wesley City, and they have there erected a memorial stone. At the same time there are those who maintain that the Wightman site is the correct one, and John King, the veteran historian, has placed a stone there, so that within a few miles the heroic LaSalle has two memorials.

January 1, 1849, Major Wightman was united in marriage with Miss Dorcas Lindsay, at the residence of the late Dr. Robert Boal, in Lacon, now the home of Grandma Ramp. Miss Lindsay was a ward of Dr. and Mrs. Boal. After the ceremony two bob sleds with four horses to each were hitched up and the wedding party drove out to Magnolia and took supper at a then famous tavern at that place. Mrs. Sarah Dean, then Sallie Crane, is the only person now living in Lacon who attended the wedding and accompanied the sleighing party. Five children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Wightman, two of whom survive, Charles R., who is also a civil engineer, and Mrs. Laura Bellows, with whom Major Wightman has resided since 1893.

Mr. Wightman built the house now occupied by Dr. Vernay and in those days it was the finest house in Lacon. In 1858 Abraham Lincoln and Lyman Trumbull visited Lacon and were entertained by him and his estimable wife during their stay. Prior to this visit Lincoln had always stopped with the late Dr. Boal.

He was always active in politics and early in life was a Whig and was one of the delegates to the convention at Bloomington when the Republican party was organized and took an active part in nominating Lincoln for President.

Aside from being a Mason he was a member of the Western Society of Engineers and the Illinois State Historical Society.

Major Wightman subscribed for the Lacon Gazette, now the Home Journal, when it was established in 1837, and read, or had read to him, every copy of the paper until the last one, when he was unconscious.

Four months before his death Mr. Wightman settled up all his business affairs and divided his property. To his son Charles he deeded four farms in Kansas; to his daughter, Laura, the South Lacon farm and the home residence; to his granddaughter, Annie Bellows, a farm in Kansas. His personal property, consisting of notes and mortgages, was equally divided between his son and daughter.

In 1901 Major Wightman suffered a paralytic stroke. He rallied from this sufficiently to attend to his business matters and kept up and around until a few months ago, when he was compelled to retire from his duties as county surveyor. A sudden change seemed to come over

him on Christmas day, 1906, and in the evening he called for his daughter and asked her to read a prayer, at the conclusion of which he said, "I love God and am not afraid to die." These were the last words he spoke, and while he lived three days longer, he did not suffer a pain and died as peacefully and calmly as he had lived. His death occurred Friday, December 28, 1906.

The funeral was held Sunday afternoon at 3:00 o'clock and was conducted by the Masons, of which order he was a member for over fifty years, and six of their number acted as pall bearers.

The family have been life-long members of the Episcopal church, but as there is no church in Lacon, they attended the Congregational church. Mr. Wightman was a personal friend and warm admirer of Rev. Stephens, and the services were conducted by him in a most appropriate manner. The remains were taken to their last resting place in the Lacon cemetery and buried beside his wife, the beloved companion of his youth. Her father, Grandfather Lindsay, was the first man to be buried in that cemetery.

Besides his two children, Mrs. Laura Bellows and Charles Wightman, he leaves five grandchildren, of one of whom, Annie Bellows, he was most passionately fond. For the past seven years, since the death of his wife, she has been his constant companion and the patter of her little feet in childhood was music to his ear. In the infirmities which have lately befallen him she was always at his side ready and willing to assist him in any possible way. His aged mother, who will be 101 years old the 26th of Jan., 1907, is also left, but in her far away home in Missouri she has not been told of his death. One of his most pleasant missions on earth was to spend Thanksgiving with her each year, the practice only ceasing for the past three years when he was unable to make the trip.

As a citizen, friend and neighbor Major Wightman was highly esteemed by all and his life affords a good example to the young. May he rest in peace.

JAMES HENRY RAYMOND.

James Henry Raymond was born at Wilbraham, Mass., 1841, died at Evanston, Ill., Jan. 11, 1907.

He was the son of Rev. Miner Raymond, a noted clergyman, and Elizabeth Henderson Raymond. He was a brother of Samuel B. Raymond, former treasurer of Cook county, and of Fred D. Raymond.

Mr. Raymond was graduated from Northwestern University in 1871, of which college he was a trustee for twelve years, and from the Union College of Law in 1875. He was a member of the American Bar Association, Illinois Bar Association, Chicago Law Institute, founder and second president of the Chicago Patent Law Association, and a member of the Illinois State Historical Society. He was a member of the First Methodist Episcopal church of Evanston, and also of the Municipal Association of Evanston. Mr. Raymond is survived by the widow, formerly Miss Mary Edwards, who is the daughter of the late Hon. B. S. Edwards, of Springfield, Illinois, two sons, Edward F. and Miner Raymond, and two daughters, Mrs. Frederick C. Woodward and Mrs. A. R. Carman.

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